

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/37080>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

LA CITOYENNE BIEN RENSEIGNÉE: WOMEN, THE NEWSPAPER PRESS AND
URBAN LITERARY CULTURE IN PARIS, RENNES AND LYON 1780-1800.

Victoria Joanne Rowan, BA.

Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of PhD
in History at the University of Warwick. The
research for this thesis was conducted under
the supervision of the Centre for Social History.

April 1999.

SUMMARY.

This thesis is concerned with the Revolutionary press in the provinces and Paris as it relates to the local female community. It aims to show that the Revolutionary press was a vehicle for community information both aimed at and originating from literate women who had access to printed material. That is to say, literate women used their local papers to advertise themselves and their wares, express their views on a subject, to seek answers to questions and also to refute false information which was circulating about them. In addition, local information which was relevant to women could be publicised in the pages of a newspaper and it would be read. Finally, when describing women in news reports these periodicals employed a stock of phrases and literary or linguistic devices to present a specific picture of the females in question. The way in which women were depicted was intended either to unite the Revolutionary community against a female foe or to exalt a particular woman as a beacon of Revolutionary virtues. The approach to the sources will be one of considering newspapers and journalistic rhetoric as being engaged in the process of creating their own view of the world from the raw material of actual events, views which promoted the political loyalties or the ethos of a particular journal.

Since it aims to examine continuity and rupture between the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary press, the time-scale for this thesis is 1780-1800. This allows for comparisons and contrasts to be made and the thesis will show that although the provincial press contained many of the elements found in their pre-Revolutionary predecessors, the cultural changes engendered by the Revolution meant that new elements of journalistic language and new subjects for discussion developed or emerged.

This work is located in the existing body of literature on the French regional and Parisian press in the eighteenth century, particularly the work of Jeremy Popkin, Hugh Gough, Jean Sgard, Gilles Feyel and Pierre Rétat. It is also linked to works on the wider world of contemporary print, for example by Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier and to the literature by Olwen Hufton, Sarah Maza and Joan Landes on the experience and roles of eighteenth-century French women. Its place in the midst of all this literature is that of drawing together the strands of Popkin's, Gough's, Sgard's and Feyel's work to argue that the Revolutionary newspaper was an instrument not simply of general information for a particular community or section of the population but also of communication on subjects which were of importance to, or which were deemed by editors or government officials to be of importance to women.

CONTENTS.

Acknowledgements	v
Introduction: Parisian and Provincial Comparisons and Contrasts on the Subject of Women and the Newspaper Press.	1
Chapter One. The Cultural World of Eighteenth-Century France and the Relationship of Contemporary Readers to the Printed Word.	8
Chapter Two. Seven Provincial or Parisian Newspapers of the French Revolution in their Contemporary Context.	47
Chapter Three. Women Writing Newspaper Articles: Advertisements.	110
Chapter Four. Women Writing Newspaper Articles: Letters to the Editor, Essays, Poems and Pieces of Fiction.	154
Chapter Five. Features Aimed at a Female Audience (Including Reports of Speeches and Reprinted Letters Written to Women).	191
Chapter Six. Features Which Mention or Refer to Women (Including News Reports, Letters and Poems).	225
Conclusion: Women Using the Newspaper Press and the Newspaper Press Using Women.	280
Appendices.	
A. Analyses of the contents of the six newspapers which constitute the primary sources.	287
B. Distribution through the issues of the newspapers of the source material quoted in the thesis.	309
C. Trends in the number of particular types of feature through the life of a certain	

newspaper.	325
------------	-----

Bibliography.	334
---------------	-----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I would like to thank the archivists and other members of staff of the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Départementales of Ille-et-Vilaine and of the département of Rhône, and of the Bibliothèques Municipales of Rennes and Lyon. They were always ready to help and in certain cases they were prepared to allow me access to the original documents as opposed to a microfilm. In addition, I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Ros Lucas, the secretary of the Centre for Social History, who made such efforts to keep me informed of events at the university when I was absent from it and who ensured that my correspondence reached me. My parents, Michael and Sandra Rowan and my partner Robin Crofts are to be congratulated for their ability to cope with me when the stresses and strains of life as a doctoral student increased and in addition I am grateful for my parents' willingness to act as proof-readers. Finally, I would like to thank the Board of Graduate Studies at the University of Warwick for awarding me a Graduate Scholarship for three successive years. Without that funding, this work could not have been undertaken.

INTRODUCTION: PARISIAN AND PROVINCIAL COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS ON THE SUBJECT OF WOMEN AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

This thesis aims to examine the French Revolutionary provincial and Parisian newspaper press from the perspective of their function as intermediaries between women and the rest of the local community in terms of the exchange of information. There is evidence that literate women who could afford to do so read the contemporary newspaper press and they also made contributions to that newspaper press, both as writers and on occasion as editors. The questions which have been vital to this research are, what types of feature in the newspapers of the Revolutionary era were targeted at or written by women, if any and how were women represented in news reports ? Did women correspond with any of the newspapers or submit other articles to them ? When a journal was edited by a woman did this affect the publication's contents ? Also, were there any differences between the situation in Paris and in the provinces and was there continuity or discontinuity between *ancien régime* journals and their Revolutionary successors ? This thesis intends to demonstrate that the Revolutionary press was simultaneously a continuation of and distinct from the journals which had circulated in France prior to 1789. In fact changes in the French press began in the late 1770s¹ but they could not come to fruition until the principle of press freedom was established by the Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme in 1789. In addition this research will establish that Revolutionary journals were used to provide women with community information which was considered to be relevant to them and moreover was used by women themselves for the purpose of placing advertisements or to broadcast their opinions on various subjects and also to refute any information about them which they claimed was inaccurate. Women might also

Unless indicated otherwise, all works quoted are published in London.

¹ J.-P. Bertaud, "L'Ami du Roi de l'abbé Royou", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): H. Chisick (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 221-227, pp. 221-22.

refer to a journal's editor as a source of knowledge about the complexities of the current social and political scene.

Of course, someone reading this work could reasonably ask why women, why the cities of Paris, Rennes and Lyon and why the particular newspapers which were surveyed in this research ? In response to the first question, the experiences of French women during the Revolution has received a great deal of attention in the past twenty years in works such as Olwen Hufton's *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, Joan Landes' *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, Dominique Godineau's *Citoyennes Tricoteuses* and also in the collection of documents *Women in Revolutionary Paris 1789-1795* edited by Harriet Applewhite, Darline Levy and Mary Johnson. Many of these works make reference to the contemporary newspaper press but do not provide a case study of several selected newspapers and women's interaction with them. Approaching the topic from another angle, the area of print culture and its links with the Revolution has also been covered extensively in recent years. Scholars like Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton and (more specifically on the subject of the periodical press) Jeremy Popkin, Gilles Feyel and Jean Sgard have helped to produce a detailed picture of contemporary journals, both in Paris and provincial towns and cities. However the issue of women and the press in the provinces has not featured as the principal part of these researches and thus this thesis aims to fill in this gap. Even Évelyne Sullerot's *Histoire de la presse féminine en France, des origines à 1848* does not examine mainstream provincial papers from the perspective of female involvement with those papers. Women's interaction with newspapers is important because journals represented a legitimate channel for self-expression for those women who were in a position to make use of them at a time when the dominant socio-political theory tried to deny the female sex any access to politics or public affairs.

The cities of Rennes and Lyon were chosen because they are sharply differentiated from each other, through culture, political situation, language, economy and periodical press

tradition. Rennes was situated in Brittany, a region with its own dialect which most of its largely peasant population spoke, an agricultural economy and a strong attachment to the Catholic religion, which would result in the Catholic, counterrevolutionary rebellion in the area. Thus although Rennes itself was a city with a developing cultural life, it was surrounded by a rural hinterland, the *bocage*. Even Rennes had only a short provincial press tradition at the start of the Revolution since its *Affiches* had been founded in 1784. Paradoxically, however, Rennes was the first city in France to have a Revolutionary journal or at least one which heralded the Revolution --- Volney's *Sentinelle du Peuple* which appeared in 1788 ². Lyon, meanwhile was a silk-manufacturing city. Its economy was therefore based on the luxury goods trade rather than on agriculture and this meant that the city's population included merchants and manufacturers who would be interested in the commercial information furnished by the *Affiches*. Therefore, Lyon had had a periodical press since 1750 ³. In religious terms the Lyon area comprised several Protestant enclaves and thus there was less homogeneity than in Brittany. Yet, that ought not to be interpreted as meaning that Lyon lacked local character and indeed the desire of its inhabitants to remain independent of the Convention Nationale's centralising tendencies in 1793 propelled them towards civil war, siege and occupation.

There is also the issue of local literacy rates, especially female ones and once again, Lyon and Rennes provide two situations which are not only different to each other but also to the situation in the areas of France where literacy rates were traditionally high for both men and women. That is to say, the female population in eighteenth-century Lyon was experiencing quite rapid growth in terms of literacy rates whereas in Rennes the number of literate women did not change much during the course of the century. However, in both cities the total

² G. Feyel, "La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d'un réseau", *Revue Historique*, CCLXXII (1984), pp. 353-374, p. 358 and P. Braud; C. Cardot; J.-L. Champy; G. Despres; D. Gravot; R. Hostiou; A. Laingui; J. Le Meur; J. Le Pennec under the direction of P. M. Juret, *La Presse à Rennes* (Rennes, 1964), p. 8.

³ Feyel, "La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d'un réseau", p. 358.

number of women who could read and write remained at a reasonably low level and lower than the figures for the male population. Therefore, there is a contrast with northern and north-eastern France where the proportion of women who were literate was higher. Female literacy rates are significant because, together with the cost of contemporary newspapers, they constituted a potentially limiting factor on the communicative functions of the provincial Revolutionary journals researched for this thesis. Only those Rennais and Lyonnais women who could purchase printed material and read it would have been able to participate fully in the literary world of which newspapers were a part. In summary, then, an examination of the Revolutionary periodical press in these two cities involves a wide range of political, cultural and social circumstances.

It is true that several other cities could have been chosen instead of Rennes and Lyon, cities which had similar experiences during the Revolution or which witnessed other, equally interesting developments. Marseille had a federalist revolt as well as Lyon and Nantes was situated in the Vendée region in which the civil war between the Catholic counterrevolutionaries and the Revolutionary authorities was particularly fierce. Yet Nantes and Marseille were both ports and so in economic terms there would not have been a contrast as there was between Lyon and Rennes. Also, due to their maritime trade, Marseille and Nantes both had *Affiches* as early as 1760 and thus again these cities, unlike Lyon and Rennes, do not allow for comparisons between a city which was quick to acquire an *Affiches* and a city which was without a local journal until the 1780s. Ideally all four cities would have been surveyed but since the time available for the research was limited it meant that only two cities could be selected.

There is a final reason why Rennes was selected rather than other towns in Brittany, namely that the collections of the départemental archives of the Côtes-d'Armor (or the Côtes-du-Nord as the département was named in the 1790s) in Quimper and of Morbihan in Vannes contained insufficient relevant source material to make the thesis viable. This is not to

say that there are not rich archival seams to be mined on the subject of the provincial press as an instrument of female-oriented information but in the case of Brittany they are to be found in Rennes rather than in Vannes or Quimper.

As for Paris, it was chosen to act as a yardstick against which the other cities could be viewed. Since Paris was the capital and as such functioned as the centre of France's communication and commercial networks, the newspaper press there was more diverse, numerous and had a longer history than in the provinces. Moreover, the Parisian press was closest to the defining Revolutionary events, for instance the storming of the Bastille in July 1789 which was the first of the popular and indeed legendary Revolutionary *journées* and the execution of Louis XVI in January 1793. As a result, a study of the Revolutionary newspaper press which examined the provinces alone and made no reference to Paris would survey the provincial press outside its national context.

Apart from the selection of the provincial cities, the other set of choices which had to be made was that of which individual newspapers in each city ought to be studied. In many cases the choice had already been made because only the prospectus and/or a few issues of a certain journal had survived. Such a paucity of issues meant that it would be difficult to discern trends in the newspaper's editorial style or contents during its career and would also risk taking the articles relating to women out of context. Therefore, one of the criteria for choosing a newspaper was that it had a reasonably long career, say one that could be measured in years. Many of the provincial journals fall into this category, including the *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*. In addition, a high proportion of its issues needed to have survived. However, if a newspaper was especially important or interesting, for example if it was edited by or aimed at women or if it was published under unusual political circumstances, as in the case of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire* then it was selected even if it only lasted for months rather than years. Volume five of André Martin's and Gérard Walter's *Catalogue de l'Histoire de la Révolution*

Française was consulted as an indispensable guide to the Parisian newspapers of the era and the information it provided on *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* and *Le Démocrate Français* suggested that these titles merited further investigation. As for the provincial journals, their details were discovered in the catalogues of the Archives Départementales d'Ille et Vilaine, the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rennes and the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon.

The final aspect of the thesis which needs discussion at this point is the time period it covers. This extends from the mid-1780s to 1800. Such a period allows for an examination of the pre-Revolutionary periodical press in France, both Parisian and provincial and this in turn permits comparisons to be made between the ancien régime press and its Revolutionary counterpart. The end of the period discussed in the thesis is 1800 and by this date the Revolution was over and Napoleon was in power. Since Napoleon reintroduced censorship of the newspaper press on 16 January 1800 by reducing the number of officially permitted journals to thirteen⁴, French newspapers after that date were less effective as channels of communication and information and so the theme of this research becomes invalid if the time period is extended beyond 1800.

In order to explore the concept of French Revolutionary provincial and Parisian newspapers as purveyors of female-related information and articles, chapter one will discuss the main ideological issues connected with this subject, for example regional literacy rates, press censorship, segmentation of the market for the periodical press including what types of journals were available for different groups of readers and the cultural world of which periodical publications were a part. That cultural world involved the academies, the salons and the cafés and these institutions in turn were populated by intellectuals, writers, journalists, aristocrats and bourgeois businessmen who read various other types of printed material as well as journals. The issue of the status of French women in the eighteenth century will also be considered. The pre-Revolutionary decades witnessed the development of a bourgeois

⁴ H. Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (1988), p. 229.

masculine political theory which denied women any active role in public affairs and assigned to them a maternal, domestic function; this development culminated in the categorising of women as passive citizens in the Constitution of 1791. Any females who aspired to a public role, for instance aristocratic salon women, were criticised and condemned as unnatural and as subverting the social order. Chapter two will focus more specifically on the seven principal newspapers selected to be surveyed for this thesis (and will also refer more briefly to two other titles) and will compare and contrast these papers with each other and also with other contemporary and pre-Revolutionary publications so as to show continuity and change before and after the Revolution. This chapter will in addition function as a point of reference for the remaining chapters which will discuss individual examples of women's contributions to the chosen newspapers and also instances in which women were described in news reports or other features. Advertisements written by women are the subject of chapter three whilst chapter four examines feminine letters to editors, essays and poems. Articles aimed at a female audience, for instance decrees and notices of meetings, are discussed in chapter five and chapter six is concerned with the way in which the newspapers' writers represented women in their bulletins and articles.

Chapter One.

**THE CULTURAL WORLD OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE AND THE
RELATIONSHIP OF CONTEMPORARY READERS TO THE WRITTEN WORD.**

Before the subject of the Revolutionary provincial and Parisian newspaper press as disseminators of female-oriented information and integrators of women into the new, ideal Revolutionary community can be examined in detail, certain debates and issues surrounding that subject must be addressed. For example, if the Revolutionary news periodical was a channel for the distribution of information, then how many different journals were available on the eve of the Revolution and during the 1790s ? It is also important to consider what types of journal were being produced for different sections of the reading population --- papers for women, peasants, those who supported the Jacobins, constitutional monarchists, moderate Revolutionaries and so on. The development of the political periodical press in the decade preceding the Revolution also needs to be mentioned so that change and continuity after 1789 can be determined. Of course the issue of literacy rates across the various regions of France and especially in Brittany and the Rhône valley are significant because the role of the newspaper press as a source of information would have been limited by the proportion of the contemporary French population who were illiterate and who thus could not interpret newspapers or indeed any printed material. Another factor which compromised the pre-Revolutionary press in general, including the periodical press, was royal censorship and the accompanying system of privileges which operated in ancien régime France.

The eighteenth-century French newspaper press cannot, however, be viewed in isolation. It constituted part of the wider cultural world of eighteenth-century France. That world comprised the academies, cafés and salons and all of those institutions contributed to contemporary communication networks. Indeed the Revolutionary era witnessed the

transformation of traditional, oral communication into a dual system of oral and printed transmission of information.

The first question to be answered when considering newspapers as transmitters of information to a community and, as far as this thesis is concerned, especially of female-oriented information, is the range of newspapers available to the inhabitants of eighteenth-century France, both in the capital and in the provinces. Obviously the greatest number of newspapers was published in Paris, though copies could be mailed to provincial subscribers. Estimates of how many newspapers were available in Revolutionary Paris are as high as two hundred and as late as January 1798, 107 “journaux politiques” were registered by the Paris police. Significantly, this was after the suppression of thirty-two right-wing newspapers in September 1797 and of another sixteen in November of the same year ¹. The first political news periodicals to appear in Paris had been titles providing verbatim accounts of the proceedings of the Estates-General at Versailles, such as Barère’s *Point du jour* which was launched on 19 June, Poncelin’s *Courrier français* which appeared on 25 June and Gorsas’s *Courrier de Versailles à Paris et de Paris à Versailles* the initial issue of which was published on 5 July ². The contents of these publications may have been limited but their editors realised that there was a market for this political information. However, with the taking of the Bastille on 14 July 1789, many more newspapers were founded; in all 140 papers were established in Paris during 1789 and of these thirty-four were still appearing a year later ³.

The papers founded in the wake of 14 July had certain political loyalties and contained more than just procès-verbaux of the proceedings of the new National Assembly. Brissot’s *Patriote françois* began to reappear from 28 July onwards and eight days previously *Révolutions de Paris* started its career. On 12 September Marat launched his *Publiciste Parisien* (which he quickly renamed the *Ami du Peuple*) and on 1 October the first numbers of

¹ J. D. Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. 6

² W. J. Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 11.

³ J. D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799* (Durham, North Carolina, 1990), p. 33.

the *Annales patriotiques* and the *Gazette de Paris* (which was edited by Pierre-Barnabé Farmin de Rozoi) were issued. Both it and the *Ami du Peuple* were daily papers ⁴. There was also the *Mercure de France* which was still a literary periodical in 1789 but which also had a political section, the *Journal de Genève*. The paper's owner, Panckoucke, decided to expand this political section from 8 August and on 5 December it received a new title, the *Mercure historique et politique de Bruxelles* ⁵. There was thus a wide range of newspapers from which prospective readers could choose and different political views were catered for, for example Marat's *Ami du Peuple* and Brissot's *Patriote françois* were pro-Revolutionary whereas the *Spectateur national*, the first issue of which appeared on 1 December 1789 had monarchist loyalties. In addition, although the *Gazette de Paris* was at first supportive of the Revolution, by December 1789 it was increasingly right-wing. It was not the case that all of the new periodicals were politically polemic --- papers like the *Journal des Débats* or the *Journal de Perlet* were politically neutral publications ⁶.

The readers of these newspapers would have been attracted to them by several factors, one of which was their style and content. Both of these aspects of a journal differed greatly between titles, from the satire of the royalist *Actes des Apôtres* or the *Chronique du Manège* to the serious news reporting, particularly of foreign news, of the *Gazette universelle* which was founded in December 1789 ⁷. Readers who disagreed with the Revolution but who wanted intelligent, critical analysis of events and institutions rather than parody or satire might have looked to the *Ami du Roi* of the Abbé Royou which appeared in September 1790 and those with extreme right-wing opinions who wished to read short articles together with poems and songs would have been attracted, from 16 September 1789 onwards, by the *Journal de la Cour et de la Ville* which was edited by Gautier and was therefore better

⁴ Ibid., pp. 32-33 and Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, pp. 12, 25.

⁵ Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, p. 17.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 25, 61 and Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 99.

⁷ Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, p. 22 and J. D. Popkin, "The élite press in the French Revolution: the *Gazette de Leyde* and the *Gazette universelle*", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): H. Chisick (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 85-98, p. 88.

known by the title *Petit Gautier*⁸. At the opposite end of the political spectrum, papers such as the *Annales patriotiques et littéraires* or the *Révolutions de Paris* gave readers with left-wing loyalties a rather more enthusiastic, though not necessarily entirely uncritical account of the progress of the Revolution during its early years. These two titles were subscribed to by several Jacobin clubs, particularly the *Annales patriotiques et littéraires* which was the most popular pro-Revolutionary paper with the clubs between 1789-1791 since forty-one clubs subscribed to it⁹.

Many right-wing or centre right Parisian papers were closed down in the aftermath of 10 August 1792, though some right-wing papers continued to appear, but under new titles. The number of right-wing journals did not recover fully until 1795 and the Parisian papers available to right-wing readers in the second half of the 1790s included the royalist *Feuille du Jour* and *Gazette française* and the constitutional monarchist *Publiciste*. Left-wing readers after 1792 could choose from titles such as the *Journal des Hommes libres* or Gracchus Babeuf's *Tribun du Peuple*¹⁰. Of course some newspapers published in Paris which were launched before the abolition of the monarchy continued to be published under their original titles and without interruption into the post-thermidorian period because for instance *La Feuille villageoise* and the *Moniteur universel* both survived 10 August 1792 and the Terror.

As for provincial newspaper readers, they could read Parisian journals sent to them through the mail. Alternatively, from the start of the Revolution local newspapers of all political persuasions (though not usually of the extreme right or left¹¹) sprang up in the larger provincial towns and cities. For example, in Périgueux the *Affiches de Périgueux* was founded in July 1789 and contained news reports from the National Assembly at Versailles. It

⁸ For an exploration of the complexity of Rouou's counterrevolutionary views, see J.-P. Bertaud, "L'Ami du Roi de l'abbé Royou", p. 225; Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, p. 49.

⁹ M. L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The First Years* (Princeton, 1982), p. 370 and idem., *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The Middle Years* (Princeton, 1988), p. 415.

¹⁰ Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, pp. 178, 213 and idem., *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 86.

¹¹ H. Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 73.

expanded the range of its contents and assumed the title *Journal du Périgord* in September of the same year. In Bordeaux the *Journal de Bordeaux* was launched in 1790 and was published on a daily basis from January 1792. This paper was loyal to the Girondins in its early years but became attached to the royalist cause once Cornu de Boissancourt became its editor ¹². In Lyon, besides the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* which appeared from 1791 to 1793 and the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône* which was published from 1795 to 1797, there was the right-wing *Surveillant* which first appeared in August 1791 and the more radical *Journal de la société populaire* which publicised the activities of the Club central and appeared between January and April 1791. Readers with moderate left-wing tendencies in the early 1790s had the *Courrier de Lyon* which lasted from the autumn of 1789 to the spring of 1791¹³. The advantage which these provincial journals had was that they could be a focus for local news and commercial and social life in a way which the imported Parisian journals could not.

The fundamental difference between *ancien régime* journals and their Revolutionary successors was that the former were subject to censorship, in the same way that books were and therefore lacked the freedom to report whatever political news they wished or to print political comment of any kind. Censorship in *ancien régime* France could take one of two forms, either prior to publication through the system of *privilèges* or after publication through the activities of the police. All works which booksellers wished to publish legally had to be examined by censors appointed by the Office of the Book Trade. There was no way to avoid this procedure if a book was to be published legally because works could not appear legally without being registered. After having been examined, a work could fall into one of three categories: it could be granted a *privilège* which meant that a particular bookseller received exclusive rights of publication and sale regarding that work, or instead it could be granted a

¹² A. Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France. Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 94-95.

¹³ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 65, 71.

‘tacit permission’ which meant that the state had neither given its approval to the work, nor banned it. In other words the book did not have full legal status but nonetheless it could be published. The third option involved forbidding publication of a work¹⁴. A work might be prohibited because it attacked established religion, authority or morals. The censors were increasingly busy as the eighteenth century progressed, since between 1700 and 1771 the number of books appearing annually had more than doubled from five hundred to over a thousand. If a bookseller tried to sell books which had been banned then he would come under the scrutiny of the inspectors of the book trade, whose job it was to ensure that the general ordinances of 1686, 1723 and 1777 relating to printing and bookselling were obeyed. Inspection of the book trade started in Paris but after 1699 it was applied to the rest of the kingdom as well. Inspectors worked in conjunction with local guilds of printers and booksellers in order to prevent the founding of illegal printing shops or the smuggling of prohibited books into the kingdom from foreign countries such as Switzerland which was where the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel was based. Severe penalties were imposed for offences concerning printed material, for instance selling prohibited or pirated books: first-time offenders might receive a fine of five hundred livres but recidivists could be whipped, exiled or sent to the galleys¹⁵.

As Daniel Roche argues, the existence of a such an elaborate system of control over the printed word demonstrates that the absolutist monarchy recognised the potential power and influence of the new medium of print and was determined to monopolise that medium for its own benefit¹⁶. The ability of the printed word to disseminate information to disparate communities was very valuable. Yet censorship in pre-Revolutionary France was never completely successful, as shown by the large numbers of works which were published without

¹⁴ D. Roche, “Censorship and the Publishing Industry”, in R. Darnton and D. Roche (eds.), *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 3-26, pp. 3, 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 14, 16, 20-21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

any authorisation or which were pirated and also by the numbers of prisoners in the Bastille in the 1770s and 1780s for offences connected with the book trade. For example, Roger Chartier is of the opinion that the number of banned or, as contemporaries referred to them, ‘philosophical’ works in circulation in *ancien régime* France was higher than is often assumed because such books were not usually listed in the registers of works for which a permission to publish had been requested. Neither were philosophical books normally to be found in estate inventories since they represented the sort of literature that people did not wish to admit their relatives had owned¹⁷. The titles of some of these ‘philosophical’ works, which ranged from genuinely philosophical treatises on morality and politics to pornographic books, and the ideas which they possibly bequeathed to their readers are considered below but it is important to note at this point that in just one year, 1764, booksellers requested permission to publish from the director of the book trade for only forty per cent of the 1,548 titles published in French. This means that the other sixty per cent were illicit publications or at best had been granted a verbal permission¹⁸. As for those who had been imprisoned for infringing the laws on publishing, between 1659 and 1789 nearly one thousand prisoners incarcerated in the Bastille had committed offences related to the book trade. In addition, in 1750-1759 forty per cent of the inmates of the Bastille had broken the publishing laws. Although that proportion had fallen to twenty-three per cent by 1780-1789, but nevertheless offenders against the book-trade laws constituted a significant part of the prisoner population of the Bastille in the second half of the eighteenth century¹⁹. Therefore, the dual censorship structures of permissions and the police could not prevent people printing, selling and importing prohibited or pirated literature.

The effect which the censorship system had on the pre-Revolutionary periodical press was one of limiting the contents of its products. There are three categories of pre-

¹⁷ R. Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, North Carolina, 1991), pp. 71-72.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁹ Roche, “Censorship and the Publishing Industry”, pp. 23-24.

Revolutionary journals, those which were published in Paris, those published abroad and imported into France and thirdly, provincial journals. Pre-Revolutionary journals published in Paris could be either gazettes such as the *Gazette*, literary and political monthlies for instance *La Clef du Cabinet des Princes de l'Europe* or the *Mercure de France*, or literary journals such as the *Journal des savants* or the *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts*. Gazettes and political and literary monthlies contained news of recent events and reviews of books whilst the literary journals concentrated on book reviews²⁰. In these journals the term 'political' meant speculation about foreign affairs, news from the other royal courts of Europe and diplomatic or military news rather than accurate information about the activities of the king's ministers which of course would have been restricted or prohibited²¹. In addition to these genre periodical publications there were also journals published in Paris which catered for specific audiences, for example female readers. Women's journalism had begun during the Fronde in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century papers like the *Journal des Dames*, which was launched in 1759 or the *Amusements du beau sexe* (which dates from 1740) aimed to entertain and, in the former case, to instruct literate members of the female sex. Many women's publications had a short career though the *Journal des Dames* constituted an exception to this rule²².

If French readers prior to 1789 wished to peruse journals which perhaps offered more objective news coverage than that provided by journals published within France then they could read publications belonging to the genre known as the *gazettes de Hollande*, in other words the *Gazette de Leyde*, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* or the *Gazette d'Utrecht*. Because they were published outside France's borders they were not subject to the French censorship system and as a result they had some ability to portray the French king as a figure who was not

²⁰ P. Réat and J. Sgard (eds.), *Presse et Histoire au XVIII^e Siècle: L'Année 1734* (Paris, 1978), pp. 19-20, 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 34 and G. Feyel, *La Gazette en Province à Travers ses Réimpressions, 1631-1752* (Amsterdam, 1982), p. 33.

²² Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 1, 8-9, 18.

necessarily as omnipotent as the official domestic journals depicted him²³. The *Gazette de Leyde* in particular was noted for its serious and reliable news coverage and thus was favoured by readers who wanted objective reporting rather than gossip though nevertheless any opposition to the French royal government which it reported came from privileged groups who possessed some political standing²⁴. It was not a journal in which the cause of the ‘nation’ was promoted.

As for readers in the French provinces in the ancien régime, in addition to the journals published in France and abroad they could also read the provincial reprints of the *Gazette* after 1631. The various cities got their reprints at different times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example Lyon and Rouen had their reprints by 1631-1633 whereas Troyes, Saint-Malo and Strasbourg had to wait until 1686-1699 and Caen and Poitiers did not get their reprints until 1732-1735²⁵. Obviously, these reprints contained the diplomatic and military news of the Parisian edition of the *Gazette* and so were subject to the same censorship. These reprints were suppressed when the *Gazette*’s privilège was bought by de Meslé and Le Bas de Courmont in 1751 but the new owners established an *Affiches* publication for Paris which printed advertisements and announcements and after 1756 Courmont supported the founding of local *Affiches*²⁶. In consequence, from the late 1750s onwards provincial readers who were interested in small advertisements, commercial information and entertainment news could read these local *Affiches*, though as with the provincial reprints of the *Gazette* it took time for the *Affiches* to spread to the various French cities. Lyon, Strasbourg and Colmar had actually had their own *Affiches* by the early 1750s, before Courmont’s initiative but they were joined by Nantes in 1757, Bordeaux in 1758,

²³ J. D. Popkin, “The *Gazette de Leyde* and French Politics Under Louis XVI”, in idem. and J. R. Censer, (eds.), *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 75-132, pp. 77-78.

²⁴ Idem., “The élite press in the French Revolution: the *Gazette de Leyde* and the *Gazette universelle*”, p. 86 and Popkin, “The *Gazette de Leyde* and French Politics Under Louis XVI”, p. 131.

²⁵ Feyel, *La Gazette en Province à Travers ses Réimpressions, 1631-1752*, p. 33.

²⁶ Idem., “La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d’un réseau”, pp. 354-55.

Marseille in 1760, Montpellier in 1770, Angers in 1773 and Rennes in 1784²⁷. However, the *Affiches* carried no political news in the modern sense of that term.

Censorship thus prevented pre-Revolutionary journals from disseminating knowledge freely but Revolutionary newspapers faced other problems in this area. In order to function effectively as transmitters of information to a particular community or group, newspapers had to be read by as many members as possible of that community or group and so the circulation figures for Revolutionary newspapers are of great importance. Many newspapers at this time were sold by advance subscriptions; there were several reasons for this, the primary one being that subscriptions ensured a publication had a source of income before any issues had been printed. In the case of Parisian journals there was also the fact that very few of them contained commercial advertisements which would have enabled them to gain extra income. Indeed, those newspapers which did print commercial advertisements did not use the money they received from them to reduce subscription prices and thereby attract more readers. Rather, they charged readers higher prices for having access to advertising²⁸.

However, circulation figures cannot be viewed in isolation, since not everyone in a particular community had access to newspapers or indeed other forms of printed matter, for example books. There were two factors which limited the consumption of newspapers in pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary France. The first was cost. To buy a subscription to a newspaper such as Royou's *Ami du Roi* in the early 1790s cost thirty livres for those who lived in Paris and thirty-three livres for provincial subscribers²⁹. This would have been beyond the financial resources of an ordinary working man who in the early years of the Revolution would have earned only about three hundred livres annually. By contrast, members of the middle classes would have considerably greater incomes, for instance a clerk would have

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 355, 358.

²⁸ Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 63 and idem., *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 62.

²⁹ Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, pp. 306-07.

earned two thousand livres a year whilst the salary of a senior officer in the ministry would have between five and six thousand livres a year. As a result, it was the middle classes who were in a position to purchase newspapers³⁰. The same situation had existed prior to the Revolution, when someone like an apprentice hatter in Lyon earning wages of fifteen to twenty sous per day would have been unable to afford the regular payments required of a newspaper reader³¹. It is true that during the eighteenth century there was an increase in the number of inventories after death of lower class people which included printed material. For example, at the beginning of the eighteenth century certain books were found in the inventories of only thirty per cent and thirteen per cent of the inventories of Parisian domestic servants and journeymen workers respectively, whereas by 1780 the proportions had risen to forty per cent for domestic servants and thirty-five per cent for journeymen workers. Nevertheless, these figures are still under fifty per cent and many of those books would probably have been small format novels or almanacs. The professional bourgeoisie, on the other hand, was increasing the number of books it owned from an average of between one and twenty at the end of the seventeenth century to an average of between twenty and one hundred in the 1780s³². A clergyman who had owned between twenty and fifty volumes at the end of the seventeenth century could have expected to have a library of between one hundred and three hundred volumes by the last decade of the ancien régime. Noblemen and men in the legal professions, meanwhile, on average possessed libraries containing more than three hundred volumes at the end of the eighteenth century³³.

To consider the issue of book ownership from a provincial perspective, in Lyon in the second half of the eighteenth century, only thirty-five per cent of inventories of possessions mention books³⁴ whilst in the towns and cities of western France there is clear evidence that

³⁰ Ibid., p. 69.

³¹ P. Rétat and J. Sgard (eds.), *Presse et Histoire au XVIII^e Siècle: L'Année 1734*, p. 86.

³² Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 69.

³³ Ibid., p. 69.

³⁴ R. Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing" in P. Ariès and G. Duby (general eds.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. III: R. Chartier (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989),

book ownership was linked to socio-economic status. This is because in that region between the end of the seventeenth century and the middle of the succeeding century, the number of inventories after death which mentioned printed works rose from a meagre ten per cent to twenty-five per cent in the case of estates valued at less than five hundred livres whereas the statistics for estates valued at between five hundred and one thousand livres show an increase from less than thirty per cent to more than forty per cent. Estates whose value was either 1,500 to two thousand livres or in excess of two thousand livres demonstrate even greater growth in the number of inventories which mentioned books: from fifty per cent of inventories at the end of the seventeenth century to seventy-five per cent in the middle of the eighteenth century³⁵. Thus in eighteenth-century France the overall increase in book ownership ought not to mask the fact that it was still the wealthier strata of society who had access to the most works and the widest range of works. Members of the lower classes were still marginalised when it came to the world of print and so ordinary people in Paris, Rennes and Lyon in the 1780s and 1790s probably would not have formed part of the newspaper-reading public.

The other factor with the potential to limit the dissemination of community information through newspapers, or indeed through any sort of printed material, is literacy rates. These were also experiencing growth in the eighteenth century, though the rates for women remained lower than those for men. For instance, between the two periods 1686-1690 and 1786-1790 the literacy rate for the male population rose from twenty-nine per cent to forty-seven per cent whilst the proportion of the female population which was literate rose from fourteen per cent to twenty-seven per cent³⁶. These general figures are based on the Maggiolo report which divided France into two sections separated by the famous Saint-Malo-Geneva line, with literate France located to the north and east and illiterate France to the south

pp. 111-59, p. 130.

³⁵ Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 69.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

and west. An example of the advance of northern and eastern France compared to the southern and western regions is provided by the examples of Reims and Aix-en-Provence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between 1750 and 1774 seventy-three per cent of men and fifty-four per cent of women in Reims signed the marriage registers whereas in Aix at the end of the eighteenth century the figures were forty-six per cent and twenty-seven per cent respectively ³⁷.

However, these statistics mask several important and interesting variations in the advance of literacy in different départements of France. In particular, the variations highlight distinctions between Rennes and Lyon which explain why they provide contrasting evidence about the background to women's consumption of and interaction with newspapers. The départements which showed the greatest increase in literacy rates during the eighteenth century were often situated south of the Saint-Malo-Geneva line, in total twelve of the nineteen départements where the percentage of literate men doubled in that period. The twelve départements included the Ariège, the Lot-et-Garonne, the Rhône, the Pyrénées-Orientales and the Basses-Pyrénées, the Haute-Garonne and Finistère ³⁸. Equally, in the eighteenth century feminine literacy generally grew quicker than masculine literacy in relative terms. Therefore, although the highest percentages of literate men and women were still to be found in départements north of the Maggiolo line, by the late-eighteenth century there were also significant numbers of men who could read and write to be found in départements stretching in a curved line from Lyon to Bayonne ³⁹.

Lyon was as a result a city where by the eve of the Revolution at least thirty to forty per cent of the male population could read and write, since that was the proportion of male inhabitants of the département of Rhône-et-Loire who signed their acte de mariage in the

³⁷ R. Chartier, M. M. Compère and D. Julia, *L'Éducation en France du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1976), p. 93.

³⁸ F. Furet and J. Ozouf, *Lire et Écrire. L'Alphabétisation des Français de Calvin à Jules Ferry* (2 vols., Paris, 1977): vol. 1, p. 38.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

years 1786-1790 and as Furet and Ozouf note, the number of literate people in an eighteenth-century French city was always higher than in that city's rural hinterland. Yet even more important as far as this research is concerned is the proportion of women in the Rhône-et-Loire who were signing their marriage contracts in the same period. Because the figure was between twenty and thirty per cent, it is clear that there was an only relatively small but nonetheless visible group of women in immediately pre-Revolutionary Lyon who would have been in a position to read the newspaper press and contribute letters or articles to it ⁴⁰. In fact, female literacy in late-eighteenth century Lyon and its surrounding area did not just exist, it had grown dramatically in the preceding century. At the end of the seventeenth century, no women in the future département of Rhône-et-Loire had been able to sign their marriage contracts and this means that the linear growth rate for the percentage of local literate women in 1686-1690 and 1786-1790 was as much as 1 to 1.60. (The linear growth rate for masculine literacy levels was the same) ⁴¹. Such a high linear growth rate in turn means that Revolutionary Lyon can be characterised as a city in which over half of the female inhabitants remained illiterate but also in which more and more women were gaining access to the printed word and therefore to the cultural world including journals. Perhaps the best way to express this phenomenon is that the female reading public in Revolutionary Lyon was fairly recent in its development.

There is a contrast here with Rennes and the Revolutionary département of Ille-et-Vilaine which were situated in Brittany, a rather backward province of contemporary France in literacy terms. For example, in the late 1780s, no men or women in Morbihan were able to sign their marriage contracts and the percentage of men who signed in the Côtes-du-Nord was only twenty to thirty per cent, though in Finistère the proportion was slightly higher at thirty to forty per cent. The situation regarding women in the Côtes-du-Nord and Finistère

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 60, 230.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 59, 63.

was no better than in Morbihan because no females in those two départements signed their *actes de mariage* between 1786 and 1790, either. In Ille-et-Vilaine the rates were higher for women, though not for men, because between ten and twenty per cent were able to sign their names in this period. It ought to be noticed, however, that this figure was lower than for the Lyon area at the same time and in addition almost as many women had signed their marriage contracts a century earlier, as demonstrated by the fact that the linear growth rate for local female literacy rates in 1686-1690 and 1786-1790 was a mere 0.01 to 0.22 ⁴². In consequence, if Lyon in the late-eighteenth century was characterised by recent, fairly rapid growth in female literacy, then Rennes was a city in which a smaller number of literate women had existed for a longer period. This is why the two cities provide differing models when the relationship of women to the Revolutionary periodical press is examined.

Of course it could be argued that simply because some women in the départements of Ille-et-Vilaine and Rhône-et-Loire were able to sign their names on their *actes de mariage*, it does not necessarily follow that they could read sufficiently well to be able to participate in the cultural world of Habermas' bourgeois public sphere. It is true that not all of the literate women in these areas would necessarily have been in a position to gain access to books and newspapers, either by purchasing them or by frequenting reading rooms or cafés where journals were available to be read by the clientele but the ability to read of the women who signed their marriage contracts should not be doubted only because the evidence relating to their literacy is in the form of handwriting. Whilst Furet and Ozouf recognise that in the eighteenth century some girls in poor rural areas such as the Rouergue received an education from the *Béates* which excluded handwriting and whilst they also state that the curriculum of the *petites écoles* comprised, in addition to the Catechism, three distinct levels: reading, writing and arithmetic, they do not suggest that writing was taught anywhere in isolation from

⁴² Ibid., pp. 60, 63.

reading⁴³. As a result, those eighteenth-century French women who had the ability to sign their names were likely also to have been able to read.

Literacy is of course intimately related to education and the provision of scholastic institutions and the number of advertisements placed in the Revolutionary periodical press in Rennes and Lyon by women who ran classes or private schools for girls supports Furet's and Ozouf's evidence about female literacy in these areas. If it is true that schools are the product of a demand for education⁴⁴ then the demand in Rennes and Lyon in the 1790s must have been solid and continuous because at various points during the decade there were several establishments in each city offering education to girls. For instance, in Rennes in 1792 a Demoiselle Navare, a Mademoiselle Remelein and a Madame Rozelly all advertised their classes or schools in the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* and a few years later in the same city Citoyen and Citoyenne Fouchard advertised their school, in which she taught the female pupils⁴⁵. In Lyon, meanwhile, Citoyenne Lochbiller advertised her scholastic establishment in 1793 and in the late 1790s the Dames Brunel and Citoyennes Revin and Gaudichau were operating schools⁴⁶. All of these advertisements will be discussed fully in chapter three as examples of women using the Revolutionary provincial newspaper press as a means of disseminating information to the local community but it should be noted here that private educational provision for girls existed both in Rennes and Lyon in the 1790s. These cities were therefore in line with other urban areas during the Revolution, for instance in Melun where in an II (1793-1794) there were four private male or female elementary teachers and also two mixed boarding schools teaching a total of 226 pupils. In Auch, the regional capital of the Gers, in an VI (1797-1798) there

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 88, 214.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴⁵ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 13 septembre 1792, p. 544; 19 septembre 1792, p. 584; 20 septembre 1792, p. 592 and the *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 20 brumaire an VI (10 Nov. 1797), p. 1152.

⁴⁶ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 12 janvier 1793, p. 40 and the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 18 thermidor an IV (5 Aug. 1796), p. (81); 23 floréal an V (12 May 1797), p. 180.

were five private schoolmistresses with fifty-nine girls and a girls' boarding-school which had twenty-one boarders and thirteen day-girls ⁴⁷.

It could be argued that the above evidence relating to educational opportunities for girls in Rennes and Lyon in the 1790s does not affect the number of literate adult women in those cities at that time yet a situation where one or more private teachers were operating in addition to public elementary schools could not have been created in a vacuum. The female teachers themselves would have to have been able to read and write to some degree and thus would have been drawn from the literate proportion of the local female population. Also, the women in Rennes and Lyon who advertised their classes and schools would have been tapping into an existing market for their services as well as opening up new ones. The fact that more and more women in Lyon and a consistent number of women in Rennes were literate allowed someone like Madame Rozelly to earn her living from teaching.

In summary then, the newspaper-reading public in the second half of the eighteenth century in France was likely to be largely bourgeois or upper-class and the majority of its members were likely to be men, considering the cost of newspapers and the respective literacy rates for the two sexes. This picture is confirmed by statistics of who subscribed to newspapers, both in general terms and in terms of one particular publication. However, the preponderance of noble and clerical subscribers which existed in pre-Revolutionary France waned during the 1790s, to be replaced by the domination of the bourgeoisie. For instance, in 1764 thirty-four per cent of the *Mercure de France*'s subscribers and purchasers were aristocrats and six per cent were clerics. Men from the educated professions only represented five per cent of the subscribers and men engaged in business or commerce six per cent. By the era of the Directory, though, the educated professions and those from the world of commerce accounted for as many as forty per cent of newspaper readers ⁴⁸. As far as specific

⁴⁷ Furet and Ozouf, *Lire et Écrire. L'Alphabétisation des Français de Calvin à Jules Ferry*, vol. I, p. 104.

⁴⁸ Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 76.

newspapers are concerned, thirty-six per cent of the provincial subscribers to the left-wing *Journal de la Montagne* between 1793-1797 made their living from commerce and another thirty per cent belonged to the professional classes. Only ten per cent of the *Journal de la Montagne*'s subscribers were involved in agriculture and a mere six per cent were artisans. Yet the statistics for the continuation of the *Ami du Peuple* in the same period show that whilst thirty-four per cent of its provincial subscribers were engaged in commerce, the proportion of artisans was higher than for the *Journal de la Montagne*, namely fifteen per cent and subscribers from the professions accounted for only eight per cent⁴⁹. This demonstrates that as with regional literacy rates, the overall cross-section of newspaper subscribers hides important variations between individual journals. This is also true of the right wing press after 1792 and in particular of female subscribers.

For instance, twenty-eight per cent of the provincial subscribers to the right-wing *Gazette française* in 1797 were drawn from the professional classes and another twenty-one per cent held government jobs (this group accounted for thirty-three per cent of the *Ami du Peuple*'s provincial subscribers but a much lower twelve per cent of the *Journal de la Montagne*'s subscribers in the mid-1790s). Quite a large percentage of the subscribers were involved in agriculture (twenty-two per cent) but only six per cent of them were artisans. However, as much as nine per cent of the provincial subscribers to the *Gazette française* were females, showing that women constituted part of the audience of the Revolutionary newspaper press. The *Gazette française* was not the only journal in the second half of the 1790s to have a noticeable number of women subscribers --- six per cent of the provincial subscribers to the *Tribune publique* (which was also a right-wing publication) were women. Significantly, though, neither the *Ami du Peuple* or another left-wing paper from the same period, Babeuf's *Tribun du Peuple* had any female subscribers⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Idem., *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 87.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 87 and idem., *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 65.

The term 'reading public' has occurred several times already in this chapter and it is appropriate here to define what is meant by such a phrase. In this thesis 'reading public' means the intellectual community of people examining printed works and employing their critical, rational ability to debate and discuss the ideas contained in those works and the impact of those ideas on contemporary society. Jürgen Habermas has traced the development of this public and since in the main it was composed of middle-class people who were excluded from having any actual political power, he defines it as the bourgeois public sphere⁵¹. The genesis of this public sphere were to be found in the seventeenth-century *le public* which passed judgement on works of art and literature. At first this public was located in the court but later, once Philippe of Orléans had moved the royal residence from Versailles to the French capital, the focus switched to Paris and the *salons* where the urban aristocracy and the highest strata of the bourgeoisie met with eminent writers, artists and scientists, who themselves were often from bourgeois backgrounds⁵². Of course as the eighteenth century progressed, more and more members of the bourgeoisie (some of whom were *moyens bourgeois*) joined the public sphere.

The members of this public sphere discussed literature and art, a task facilitated by the fact that during the late seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth, painters were breaking free from the restrictions imposed on them by the guilds, the court and the Church and instead they were beginning to work for the market. The institution of the exhibitions or *salons* of the Academy of Art further aided the establishment of the public as an arbiter of taste in artistic matters. According to Habermas, the existence of a public made up of private people which debated works of art and literature enabled those people to exercise their reason and create spaces for public discussion in preparation for the time when they would claim political power and would control the public sphere of the state and the government. In other

⁵¹ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence), (Cambridge, 1989), p. 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

words, the literary public sphere in pre-Revolutionary France was the forerunner of the political public sphere of Revolutionary France ⁵³. Once the political public sphere had emerged, the members of the bourgeois public used their reason to criticise the government and other state authorities through debate and thereby they directed and ordered civil society. Since women in Revolutionary France were excluded from the possession of political rights, they played no part in the political aspect of the public sphere but Habermas is careful to distinguish between this exclusion and their participation in the literary public sphere. He argues that female readers, along with other dependants such as servants or apprentices in fact were more active in the literary public sphere than many heads of households who did come to possess political rights. However, he also says that for educated people in eighteenth-century France the public sphere did not consist of two halves but rather was viewed as a single entity ⁵⁴. It is precisely this dichotomous situation in which women were included in the literary public sphere but legally and actually forbidden to enter its political counterpart that makes the topic of this thesis so interesting. Women's socio-political position in Revolutionary France will be discussed more fully below but it should be remarked here that in a society where the most effective way for a literate woman to communicate her ideas about the Revolutionary experience was through the medium of printed matter, the relationship between women and the periodical press is of considerable importance.

Reference has already been made to the existence of the salon as a space where the bourgeois public met in late-seventeenth century and eighteenth century France. Organised and presided over by women, the salons were instrumental in the transfer of cultural and social influence from the royal public space of the court at Versailles to the urban aristocratic public space of Paris ⁵⁵, and they also facilitated the evolution of the 'public' from its seventeenth-century incarnation to its eighteenth-century manifestation. In the 1600s the

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 40-41, 51.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

⁵⁵ M. Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*

public was inclusive, combining the two sexes and the various ranks of society from the aristocracy to the mass of ordinary people and only came into being during royal or religious ceremonies, whereas in the following century it was exclusive, being restricted to the literate and cultured who could discuss the issues of the day. As Roger Chartier remarks, it is curious and ironic that the eighteenth-century public sphere, which justified itself on the grounds that it was universal and all-embracing, in reality debarred those who were poorly educated⁵⁶. The importance of the salons increased as the eighteenth century progressed and at the same time their main aim changed from one of pleasure to one of debate, until it was customary practice to submit new works not only of literature but also of music to the critical forum of the salon before having them published. Indeed, Hénault who was president of the Parlement of Paris once remarked that prospective candidates for the Académie Française had first to be approved by Madame Lambert and her salon⁵⁷.

As salons were established, each developed its own style and character, based on the personality and tastes of its hostess and as a result each drew different types of members to it; for instance, if a man of letters wanted a morally upright and philosophical atmosphere, he would have attended Madame Necker's gatherings whereas someone who wished their philosophical atmosphere to be mixed with brilliance would have sought to join Madame Geoffrin's salon. Other celebrated *salonnières* included Madame du Deffand and Mademoiselle de Lespinasse. The former's circle was brilliant and cynical whilst the other salon was zealous and philosophical⁵⁸. The question of the role and status of the *salonnières* and also of the position of women in contemporary society and political discourse will be

(New Brunswick, 1992), p. 77.

⁵⁶ Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁷ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p. 34 and J. B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1988), p. 54.

⁵⁸ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 98.

considered below though it should be noted that women, even if they were literate were outnumbered by men in such gatherings ⁵⁹.

Yet the salons were not the only places in which the emerging literary public sphere and its political cousin could meet. Reading rooms, provincial academies, masonic lodges, theatres and concert halls, museums and cafés were all locations where the bourgeois public of *ancien régime* France could congregate and during the Revolution political clubs were added to their number. The academies tended to draw their members from the ranks of the nobility, clergy, liberal professions and intellectuals, in other words from the classes of society with the highest levels of culture. For instance, of the associates ordinaires in Bordeaux, twenty-nine were noble officials and administrators, eleven were nobles in the service of the king and three were higher secular clergy. As for the associates, as many as thirty were doctors and another fourteen were lower secular clergy. In Lyon forty-one members of the association ordinaire were noble officials and administrators whilst six were bourgeois in manufacturing or commerce and fifteen were doctors. Women, however, were generally excluded from the provincial academies ⁶⁰.

Reading rooms, or *cabinets de lecture*, began to be opened by booksellers in both Paris and provincial France after 1760 ⁶¹ and offered those who subscribed to them the opportunity to read a wider range of books and periodicals than they would be able to afford as individual readers. The sorts of literature stocked by *cabinets de lecture* included dictionaries, encyclopaedias and almanacs, gazettes and newspapers and also the latest philosophical works. However, only affluent literate people could avail themselves of this service because the annual fees for membership of reading rooms were on average ten to twenty livres and in consequence middle-class men (for example professors, members of the

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 86.

⁶⁰ D. Roche, *Le Siècle des Lumières en Province. Académies et académiciens provinciaux, 1680-1789* (2 tomes, Paris, 1978): tome I, p. 193 and tome II, pp. 426, 428-29.

⁶¹ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, p. 39 and Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 70.

liberal professions and merchants) constituted the section of the population most likely to subscribe to a *cabinet de lecture* though the wealthier artisans might also join ⁶².

Women, therefore, did not normally subscribe to *cabinets de lecture* although a quote in chapter three shows that a female entrepreneur in the 1790s might open her own reading room. There were however other locales in which the bourgeois public met and which women would also frequent; coffee-houses represent one such location. Hack writers and journalists who existed outside what Robert Darnton terms *le monde*, met in cafés to argue about what was happening in the world around them and to criticise the society which denied them the rewards they felt they deserved, thereby creating an atmosphere of disenchantment with the *ancien régime* and unrest. Café culture was not homogenous because even in this realm of mediocrity and failure there were various strata, as shown by the fact that the clientele of the Procope occupied a place far higher up the ladder of success in the literary underground than did those who frequented the boulevard cafés ⁶³. This diversity, though, contributed to the importance of the cafés, since it resulted in journalists and writers coming into contact with the lowest ranks of society, not merely with the *petite bourgeoisie*. Of course it could be argued that since the bulk of the educated writers and journalists would have been men, then any women present in cafés were likely to be illiterate and in consequence excluded from the literary public sphere. To counter this point it ought to be remembered that cafés would purchase copies of various newspapers and make them available to be read by their customers and this meant that someone would be able to read a journal aloud to the assembled company.

Yet Jeremy Popkin argues that simply because the proprietor of a café made collective subscriptions to several newspapers for the benefit of his or her clientele, it does not necessarily follow that more people would have heard a newspaper read aloud in a coffee-house than would have done so if the newspaper was being read aloud in a private house to

⁶² Ibid., p. 70.

⁶³ R. Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982), pp. 23-24.

family members or friends ⁶⁴. In other words, if the only way in which a particular woman could learn about the contents of a newspaper was by hearing it read aloud, then she would not necessarily have been dependent on visiting a café to do that because a relative or friend might acquire a copy and bring it home to read. Such a situation would have had the effect of allowing illiterate women to encounter newspapers in more than one place but at the same time if they could not read the articles silently for themselves then their ability to debate the subjects of those articles and thus their ability to participate properly in the literary public sphere would have been limited. In addition, visiting a café was an option for those eighteenth-century French women who lived in towns but the same was not true for peasant women. Although cafés were becoming more and more of a feature of village life in eighteenth-century France, it was local men who were their customers and drank, conducted business, discussed current village affairs or gambled there. Peasant women remained on the sidelines of this male sociability which was related to the sexual division of space in contemporary rural France, a division which associated women with the inside of the familial dwelling and men with extra-familial responsibilities ⁶⁵.

As a result, women were most likely to have access to newspapers if they bought their own copy to read privately (if they were literate and affluent) or if they heard a copy bought by someone else being read aloud, either in the home or in a café. In addition, women had either limited or no access to several forms of intellectual and literary sociability, for instance the reading room or the provincial academies. This does not mean that no contemporary women were in a position to read newspapers or to engage in critical debate with other members of the bourgeois public, simply that the patterns of female newspaper-consumption differed from male ones and women's involvement with the public sphere was confined to literary spaces like journals and letters to family and friends. Neither of these considerations

⁶⁴ Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 77.

⁶⁵ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, pp. 109-10.

reduces the significance of female contributions to public debate and indeed they heighten the importance of Revolutionary newspapers as an outlet for women's expression of their opinions.

Periodicals obviously were not the only type of printed material which the literate, cultured classes of eighteenth-century were reading. Books were crucial to the development of the bourgeoisie's growing political consciousness and as mentioned above, the numbers of people who owned them were rising during the century. Apart from how many books were being published and owned, the types of books which were popular is of significance. The orders placed with the Swiss publishing house the Société typographique de Neuchâtel by Bruzard de Mauvelain, a bookseller from Troyes, between 1781 and 1784 demonstrate that the most popular genre of works were *libelles* and political pamphlets such as *Les Fastes de Louis XV* of which he ordered eighty-four copies and Linguet's *Mémoires sur la Bastille* of which he ordered thirty copies. Pornographic works were also in demand, as shown by the fact that he ordered forty-six copies of the *Muses du foyer de l'Opéra*. Religious books were less popular, although Mauvelain ordered forty-four copies of *La Papesse monastique*. Finally, there was a considerable demand for the works of Louis-Sébastien Mercier since Mauvelain ordered twenty-five copies of his *L'An 2440* and twenty-seven copies of the *Tableau de Paris*. All of these works were prohibited⁶⁶ which was why they had to be printed outside France and smuggled into the country.

As for other book-sellers, the Parisian François-Gabriel Mériot sold illicit works such as the *Nouvelle liberté de penser* and *Dom Bougre ou le portier des chartreux*, whilst pornographic works and political libels also featured among the titles seized from Roch Moureau (another Parisian book-seller) in July 1777. For example, there was *La Fille de joye* and Pidansat de Mairobert's *Anecdotes sur la comtesse Du Barri* and in addition three works

⁶⁶ R. Darnton, "Le livre prohibé aux frontières: Neuchâtel", in H.-J. Martin, R. Chartier and Vivet, J.-P. (eds.), *Histoire de l'Édition Française* (4 tomes, Paris, 1982-1986): tome II, *Le livre triomphant 1660-1830* (1984), pp. 342-59, pp. 356-57.

by Voltaire and one each by d'Holbach and Mercier⁶⁷. What this shows is that the French reading public's tastes by the second half of the eighteenth century could no longer be satisfied by the books which had been approved by the royal censors. Judicial *mémoires*, which started in 1734 with the publication of François Gayot de Pitaval's twenty-volume *Causes célèbres et intéressantes*, were also becoming increasingly popular as the eighteenth century progressed. By 1789 Nicolas Le Moyne Des Essarts's *Journal des causes célèbres* had reached a total of 179 volumes. These legal briefs dealt with civil cases such as marital separations⁶⁸ and the reading public's demand for legal works like this shows that the educated classes were taking more and more of an interest in how other people lived their lives.

It is of course important to consider not only what people were reading but their reactions to the works which they read. One aspect of this discussion is contemporary reading habits. There are several theories about this issue. Rolf Engelsing has argued that a definite shift in methods of reading occurred in the eighteenth century, not just in France but in Europe as a whole. As experienced in Germany it has been termed a *Leserevolution*. The transformation meant that whereas literate people once read a few books or pamphlets with an attention so great that it approached reverence, after 1750 they began to scan a much greater number of works. Their attention span shortened so that they were increasingly avid for new literature and they began to criticise what they read. Moreover, reading became a private, individual act rather than a communal one and the act of reading lost its religious dimension, its sacredness. Again, such developments encouraged readers to abandon the respectful, obedient attitude they had had to books and instead to read more critically⁶⁹. Roger Chartier has written that the demand for new printed material engendered by such a free, insatiable

⁶⁷ H.-J. Martin, "La prééminence de la librairie parisienne" in idem., Chartier and Vivet, (eds.), *Histoire de l'Édition Française: tome II, Le livre triomphant 1660-1830*, pp. 262-81, p. 274 and Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 75.

⁶⁸ S. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 25.

⁶⁹ Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 90 and R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*

relationship with literature resulted in a tripling or even quadrupling of book production in France between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the 1780s⁷⁰. Other writers, for instance Robert Darnton disagree fundamentally with the view that eighteenth-century readers were becoming more sceptical, arguing that no such development occurred and that if anything the attentiveness with which people read heightened during the eighteenth century rather than dissipated. According to Darnton, it was Rousseauism rather than reading extensively and concentrating on particular extracts of books which was responsible for altering the relationship between book and reader⁷¹ and this line of thought relates to other facets of the issue of the social and cultural impact of printed matter.

Another important aspect of the sociology of reading is the link, or lack of one, between reading and subsequent events. There are several schools of thought on this subject. Robert Darnton, for instance, argues that a direct link exists between reading and cultural, social or political movements. In support of his theory Darnton cites the example of an eighteenth-century merchant from La Rochelle named Jean Ranson. Ranson placed a series of orders with the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel and favoured writers such as Madame de Genlis, Restif de La Bretonne and Mercier but the author to whom he was devoted was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Ranson referred to Rousseau as 'l'Ami Jean-Jacques' and regarded the writer's pronouncements on such subjects as marriage and parenthood as rules for living. As he once wrote in his correspondence, 'Everything that *l'Ami* Jean-Jacques has written about the duties of husbands and wives, of mothers and fathers, has had a profound effect on me'⁷². Ranson also broke with family tradition and named his second son Emile after the eponymous hero of one of Rousseau's works. Darnton argues that all of this points to Ranson absorbing Rousseau's ideas to the extent that he began to live his life in accordance with those ideas.

and Other Episodes in French Cultural History (1985), pp. 242- 43.

⁷⁰ Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 90.

⁷¹ Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, p. 244.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 216, 230.

Moreover, Ranson was not unique among Rousseau's readers since Jean-Jacques encouraged all those who read his works to read them in the same way. The result, says Darnton, was that the dividing lines between reality and literature became blurred ⁷³. In such a situation, if French people in the second half of the eighteenth century were exposed to books and tracts which criticised the monarchy and presented the king and his court as degenerate and corrupt, then eventually those people would come to believe that a new political regime needed to be instituted in order for the country to prosper.

Roger Chartier is more cautious in his attitude to the relationship between reading and subsequent political or social change. He views Darnton's theories as too convenient and claims that they fail to take account of the notion that just because someone reads something, however sensational, it does not necessarily mean that they believe what they have read. Chartier acknowledges that he is following in the footsteps of Louis-Sébastien Mercier in arguing that the impact of satirical and denunciatory literature ought not to be overestimated⁷⁴. For Mercier, who of course had the advantage of being a contemporary, first-hand observer of the phenomenon which he was analysing, the excitement experienced by potential readers when a new libellous pamphlet was published lasted for only a few days and then their attention was attracted by something else. In addition, denunciatory works had a smaller audience than pornographic literature which meant that many people were ignorant of them and their contents. Thirdly, the members of the reading public who perused libellous material often questioned or dismissed the information and ideas with which it presented them⁷⁵. Therefore, it was not the case that readers reviewed something and automatically accepted what they were being told.

Chartier makes other objections to Darnton's assertion, the principal one being that no two people read a piece of literature or other printed matter in an identical way.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 233, 244- 45.

⁷⁴ R. Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 82.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 82.

Consequently, two readers of the same book can form totally different interpretations of its meaning and significance, to the extent that they end up on opposing sides of an argument or even of a revolution. For instance, an author like Rousseau was beloved not only of the ordinary people including the Parisian sans-culottes, but also of the aristocracy and the commercial middle classes. Readers from each of these sharply differentiated socio-economic groups found something to admire in Rousseau's philosophy but this common literary ground did not alter their political loyalties or the positions which they assumed during the events of the Revolution. Evidence for this view comes from the fact that the books confiscated by the Revolutionary authorities from émigrés and condemned persons after 1792 included many philosophical works --- during his imprisonment in the Temple Louis XVI read Voltaire, Montesquieu and La Fontaine ⁷⁶. As a result it cannot be assumed that there is any direct link between what French people were reading in the second half of the eighteenth century and the political, social and cultural upheaval represented by the Revolution and in this thesis the contents of the newspapers surveyed will be examined for the perspective of what the editors hoped would be their readers' reaction to what they had read. In other words the contents of the newspapers will not be treated as necessarily being the cause of subsequent developments in the cities in which they were published or even as necessarily being an accurate indication of the opinions and concerns of the local populations.

Eighteenth-century French women had a curious relationship with the emerging bourgeois public sphere examined above since they were able to participate in its critiques of art and literature but they were increasingly marginalised by the socio-political theories which it was elaborating. Women were legally inferior to men in ancien régime France and they had no role in government⁷⁷ but despite the fact that lower and middle-class women were preoccupied with domestic tasks or working to earn money to supplement the family income,

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 83-85.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 86.

there were a few aristocratic and *haute bourgeoise* women like Madame du Deffand, Madame Geoffrin or Madame Necker who managed to influence politics and political affairs through their role as hostess of a salon. Some scholars such as Joan B. Landes have regarded the salon as a space where women both consumed and purveyed culture and have seen the salon women themselves as possessing a public role outside marriage. Landes argues that the *salonnières* with their emphasis on sociability and their emphasis on the style in which an object was presented rather than on the object itself raised fears concerning female ability to threaten male authority over language and thus, by extension, male domination of politics ⁷⁸. Moreover, it has already been stated⁷⁹ that intellectuals and men of letters tested their ideas and works on the members of the salons prior to exposing them to a wider audience, which meant that the salons and their hostesses were regarded as influential.

Both aristocratic reformers and perhaps more significantly the *parlementaires* were coming to resent the supposed power which these women wielded and consequently were arguing in terms of isolating women in the home to ensure that they could not corrupt society by attempting to have a public role or indeed be corrupted by the frivolity and dubious morality of the upper-class social world ⁸⁰. Those who wanted reform laid the blame for the indolence and apparent lack of vigour of the monarchy and the aristocracy at women's door.

Landes progresses from her view of the salon as outlets for feminine influence to posit the Revolution as a purely masculine construct which was directly opposed to the female world of the salons. For her, the public sphere of Revolutionary society was strictly gendered and excluded women. She writes that since a public man acts on behalf of the universal good, a public woman is a whore, she is used by all men and therefore only men are capable of public action⁸¹. In this view, the Revolutionary newspaper press might have provided upper-

⁷⁸ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, pp. 22, 29-31.

⁷⁹ C.f. p. 28 above.

⁸⁰ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, p. 27 and Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 19.

⁸¹ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, pp. 2, 3, 12.

middle-class women with the opportunity to influence public affairs which hosting a salon would once have done. In other words, there would be a rupture between literate women's relationship with and use of periodical publications prior to the Revolution and during it. However, the reality is that Landes risks overstating the influence which the salon women were able to have in their literary and artistic gatherings. The rococo period was in reality no more sympathetic to women than the Revolutionary period was in the sense that its art and imagery objectified women and presented them as the embodiment of male ideals of femininity⁸². Moreover, the *salonnières* were facilitators of literary men's actions rather than actors in their own right on the stage represented by the salon. They were supposed to encourage intelligent conversation and bestow polite manners to the intellectual but socially unpolished men of letters. Madelyn Gutwirth asserts that the salon women were not really subjects but, again, objects because they did not possess the ability to act independently. The most they could achieve was to use their social influence to alter the decisions made by the men who held power⁸³. As a result, the supposed political power of aristocratic and *haute bourgeoisie* salon women in *ancien régime* France is revealed as an illusion. Thus any difference between the relationship of women to the pre-Revolutionary periodical press and to Revolutionary political newspapers is one of differences in the contents and form of the newspapers themselves, not one of a striking, fundamental difference between the social and political position of French women before and after 1789.

Sarah Maza agrees that it is likely that the *salonnières* were, despite their expertise in matters of taste, marginalised when it came to profound, involved discussion of philosophy or literature. The possible exception to this was Manon Roland. The sole weak link in Maza's contention, as she herself admits, is that the literary texts which she quotes to buttress her theory were both penned by men: Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* and

⁸² Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 9, 21.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 87-88.

Diderot's *Le Rêve de d'Alembert*⁸⁴. There is of course another point to be made in connection with the concept of growing resentment of female encroachment into the traditionally male preserve of public affairs, namely that the position occupied by the *salonnières* was unique to the upper classes and did not enter into the lives of ordinary women. The majority of the female sex in pre-Revolutionary France had no opportunity to meet powerful or intellectual men and influence their thoughts and actions personally. Perhaps it was specifically because only wealthy women of *le monde* who could even appear to wield public power that the resentment felt towards them was not confined to men, though the male sex would be the beneficiary of that resentment. Lower-class women were also beginning to be antagonistic towards aristocratic females⁸⁵ and this feeling was the result of the weakening of the bond between the queen and aristocratic women on the one hand and ordinary women on the other. This bond had been dependent on rituals which conveyed the message that all of the participants in them shared the same interests⁸⁶, in other words that all of the women who were party to them were bound together by their common maternal capacity.

The desire of those who were opposed to the idea of women fulfilling any public role to relegate the female sex to domestic responsibilities has already been alluded to and part of this confinement of women to the home was the glorification of motherhood. This trend began in the second half of the eighteenth century and was one of the dominant ideologies in the Revolution. For example, contemporary novelists criticised evil and ignorant mothers and physicians like Pierre Roussel wrote that nothing, including education and the possession of an active mind, must be allowed to threaten women's reproductive abilities⁸⁷. During the Revolution itself the appearance of images of multi-breasted figures of Nature not only

⁸⁴ S. Maza, "Women, the Bourgeoisie and the Public Sphere: Response to Daniel Gordon and David Bell", *French Historical Studies*, 17, no. 4 (1992), pp. 935-50, p. 949.

⁸⁵ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, pp. 77, 169.

⁸⁶ E. A. Colwill, "Transforming Women's Empire: Representations of Women in French Political Culture, 1770-1807" (PhD thesis, State University Of New York at Binghamton, 1990), pp. 35, 40, 43.

⁸⁷ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, pp. 120, 169.

reinforced the concept of women as primarily reproductive, almost animal beings but also assumed political overtones because the message they communicated was one of the Nation (represented as multi-breasted Nature) being capable of suckling all of children. In other words, Equality existed in the Revolutionary state⁸⁸. This emphasis on and praise of motherhood as the way for Revolutionary women to play their part in the new national community helps to explain the frequency of articles associated with maternal issues in the newspapers researched for this thesis. This material falls into the categories of articles written by women, articles aimed at women and also reports which refer to women and it is discussed in the appropriate chapter below.

One crucial aspect of the glorification of the maternal state was its denial of sexual feelings to women. Mothers, even when breast-feeding, were not supposed to experience anything other than chaste, motherly joy⁸⁹. This betokens a concern with female sexuality as a harmful force and as something which needs to be controlled. The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the indictment of women who indulged their sexual passions at the expense of their children but once more, it is likely that women were being blamed for the general social malaise which was manifesting itself in the growing numbers of infants who were being abandoned or who were dying in foundling hospitals or in the homes of wet-nurses⁹⁰. Male fear of women's sexual power was also present in the Revolution, as far as Lynn Hunt is concerned, in the form of what Carole Pateman refers to as the sexual contract. The sexual contract creates civil patriarchal right or male political right and identifies the feminine with the private and domestic and the masculine with the public and universal. Hunt's adaptation of Freud's drama of the primitive family where the members of the Revolutionary brotherhood kill their father-king Louis XVI in order to achieve independence as a nation explains that act of political patricide as the means by which the brothers instituted a new

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 359, 362.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 178.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 44-50, 170.

political structure, one in which women would officially be controlled and contained. As stated above, women had become associated with all that was corrupt and decadent about the *ancien régime*⁹¹. Any women in Revolutionary France who existed outside the sexually appropriate sphere of marriage and motherhood, for instance the members of female religious orders, were increasingly likely to come under attack by 1793⁹².

This identification of women as private beings who were not individuals capable of rational thought and who therefore remote from the male, public world of politics did not go unchallenged in the Revolutionary era. Women like Olympe de Gouges theorised about women's right to be considered as the equals of men and the members of political clubs, for instance the Club des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires attempted to play their part in the Revolutionary community by taking direct, public action against those whom they regarded as the enemies of the new order. (However, the Républicaines Révolutionnaires did not claim that women had the right and the ability to fulfil an identical social role to men.) Vital from the perspective of this thesis is the fact that in article XI of her *Déclaration des Droits de la Femme* de Gouges stated that 'The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman'⁹³, yet both individual women who advocated proto-feminist views and those Jacobin women who wished to act publicly in defence of their political opinions inevitably fell foul of masculinist Republican theory which prescribed an apolitical existence to women and identified politics and public life with men. Time and again Revolutionary women were exhorted to be content with a retiring, domestic life as the producers of the next generation of French citizens in order that they might be virtuous and so serve the Nation. For instance, André Amar, the representative of the Committee of General Security declared in the autumn of 1793 that if women attended political meetings

⁹¹ C. Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 1, 3, 6, 11 and L. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992), pp. 4, 6-7.

⁹² O. H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992), p. 75.

⁹³ J. W. Scott, "“A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer”: Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women”, in Melzer, S. E. and Rabine, L. W. (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 102-20, p. 109.

they would be ‘obliged to sacrifice the more important cares [that is, maternal and domestic ones] to which nature calls them’ whilst in the handbook of Jacobin religious rituals, M.-J. Chénier and C. Dusauroir asked the citizenesses of the French Republic ‘which of you can lack ambition to hold the sacred title of mother?’⁹⁴.

The timing of Amar’s comment is significant because in late October 1793 the Convention Nationale outlawed all female associations and political clubs and a few weeks later it prohibited deputations of women entering sessions of the Paris Commune⁹⁵. A Lyonnais decree announcing the implementation of the ban on female clubs is quoted in chapter five. At the same time as the Convention’s repressive decisions, on 19 November 1793, the Parisian newspaper the *Moniteur universel* referred to Marie-Antoinette, Manon Roland and Olympe de Gouges as unnatural women because each was deemed to have ignored the dictates of nature and tried to claim a public role for themselves⁹⁶. This word ‘nature’ is significant because it also occurs in Amar’s remarks and was used by the Jacobins as the ultimate rationale for their exclusion of women from public role. It became extremely difficult for women to construct any logical counter-argument against a philosophy which asserted that the sexual division of society into appropriate spheres had its roots in the natural, eternal order of things. Yet even though the silencing of women in politics or public affairs reached its zenith in the autumn of 1793, there was widespread opposition before that period to the concept of the female sex being involved in political business, especially among those with left-wing tendencies, as demonstrated by the reluctance or refusal of all but the most democratic provincial Jacobin clubs to admit women. Even on the few occasions when women were allowed to join a club, they did not achieve equal status with the male members

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 104 -05 and Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 348.

⁹⁵ D. G. Levy and H. B. Applewhite, “Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris”, in S. E. Melzer and L. W. Rabine (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 79-101, p. 96.

⁹⁶ Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, p. 120.

because they were confined to the back benches and could not speak or vote without permission⁹⁷.

In consequence, France in the 1790s was a society which was ordered according to the characteristics of the sexes, which supposedly were ordained by Nature. In such a society, newspapers afforded the significant minority who were literate the chance to communicate their ideas and opinions on public affairs to the local or even the national community because in theory at least, there was no bar to a woman corresponding with the editor of a newspaper. It is of course true that simply because a woman submitted articles or letters to a journal, that did not necessarily mean that the editor would choose to print them but there are several examples in chapter four below to prove that editors of various newspapers were prepared to print contributions from female readers on a range of subjects, even those relating to public affairs. Thus Revolutionary journals, because they belonged to the literary public sphere rather than to its political counterpart fulfilled the same function for women as political associations and municipal or district councils fulfilled for men.

Yet the newspaper press must be regarded as a double-edged sword as far as women in Revolutionary France were concerned. This is because news reports of female activities could be used to build either the myth of the virtuous Revolutionary and later Republican citizeness, or the equally powerful image of the unnatural, irrational she-devil who defended publicly the superstitious religion with which she was obsessed and in consequence undermined the reforming work of the Revolution. Print culture's use of women to express various concepts, including the French nation, had begun before 1789 in the pages of the *mémoires judiciaires* which were cited above as a type of literature which was becoming more and more popular among the literate classes in the eighteenth century. The cases in the 1780s of Monsieur and Madame Kornmann and the Count of Sanois and his wife both became opportunities for the lawyers representing the husbands' interests to portray the

⁹⁷ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The First Years*, p. 92.

women as bad wives and mothers⁹⁸, the two most heinous female sins according to the male Revolutionaries. Madame de Sanois was depicted specifically as an poorly-educated social climber who had usurped her husband's position as the head of the household. The fact that she had obtained a *lettre de cachet* in order to imprison her husband was regarded as exemplifying her improper conduct. As for Catherine Kornmann, she was presented as an adulteress who ignored her child once she had begun to take lovers⁹⁹. Since one of the characteristics of the *mémoires judiciaires* as a genre was that they appealed to 'public opinion' as the source of legitimacy, the Kornmann and de Sanois affairs prefigured in the literary world the female situation during the Revolution, when women's morality was judged by the male political public, from which the female sex itself was inevitably excluded. Another legal case which provided a female symbol for the developing political consciousness of the educated classes was that of the *rosière* of Salency but this is discussed in more detail in chapter six because it has parallels with a particular provincial Revolutionary newspaper article¹⁰⁰.

The question underlying all of the issues discussed in this chapter is why should language and the printed word through which that language was increasingly frequently transmitted, be so important? In the case of Revolutionary France the answer is that language was used as a primary tool in the creation of a new national consciousness and a new political ideology. It was almost as if the Revolutionaries believed that if they said the words, those words would be transposed into reality. In other words the intangible would become tangible. Lynn Hunt's version of this view posits language as the source of political authority and also sees it as an catalyst of social and political change. Language assumed these functions in France during the Revolution because the French lacked both magnetic political leaders and any distant, free past to which they could turn for ideas and inspiration when building their

⁹⁸ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, p. 263.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 278, 304.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 69-70, 98-105, 108-111 and c.f. chapter six, pp. 265-68.

new community¹⁰¹. Language in Revolutionary France also served the function of social cohesion, a concept referred to not only by Hunt but also by Benedict Anderson who argues that language and the associated action of reading created new, mental communities which were supra-regional and based not on ties of blood nor on social liaison but on shared thoughts or attitudes to a particular issue or piece of literature. Such communities replaced the cohesive social groups characteristic of medieval and early modern Europe, for example the nobility, which were constituted by personal ties of kinship and clientship. These groups had not contributed to national identities because they had not been limited by regional or country boundaries ('French' and 'English' nobles could be related, for instance)¹⁰².

Contemporary French commentators like Jean-François La Harpe, who published his arguments in *Du Fanatisme dans la langue révolutionnaire*, also stressed the importance of language to the Revolutionary experience and indeed Hunt cites him as evidence for her opinion that Revolutionary rhetoric is worthy of close examination¹⁰³. La Harpe is also mentioned by Philippe Roger in his discussions of Revolutionary language and rhetoric. Roger characterises the Revolution as a war of words, a 'logomachy' and states that Louis-Sébastien Mercier as well as La Harpe argued that the Revolution had degraded the French language and exploited it. Roger also asserts that in the eighteenth century words were regarded as representing the idea or thing which they were describing and this meant that any lexicological changes would occasion a shift in the way people viewed a particular thing or in the way they thought; this in turn would be translated into real political or social confusion¹⁰⁴.

This contemporary belief stemmed from the fact that Ferdinand de Saussure's theories about words, language and meaning did not yet exist. In the absence of the Saussurian concept that words are more than direct, obvious representations of something¹⁰⁵ a linguistic

¹⁰¹ L. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 24-27.

¹⁰² B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991), p. 77.

¹⁰³ Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ P. Roger, "The French Revolution as 'logomachy'" in J. Renwick (ed.), *Language and Rhetoric of the Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 4-17, pp. 4, 10.

¹⁰⁵ A. Nye, *Feminist Theory and the Philosophies of Man* (New York, 1988), p. 179.

rupture would necessarily engender a change in the ideas to which the words referred. Thus for the Revolutionaries it was crucial to seize the initiative and to use language and vocabulary, altering them where necessary, to construct the new political and social reality which they wished to create. Louis XVI himself demonstrated how significant language had become when he declared that he disapproved of the way the Tiers État used the term ‘privileged classes’ to refer to their political enemies. For the king, expressions of that sort could only lead to continued political division ¹⁰⁶.

Therefore, the periodical press in eighteenth-century France cannot be viewed in isolation from the contemporary urban literary culture of which it formed an element. Having considered the underlying social and cultural currents which existed in pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary France, it is now necessary in the next chapter to examine in detail the specific newspapers which constitute the primary source material for this thesis and also to highlight the parallels between them and other Revolutionary journals.

¹⁰⁶ Roger, “The French Revolution as ‘logomachy’”, pp. 10-11.

SEVEN PROVINCIAL OR PARISIAN NEWSPAPERS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN THEIR CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT.

In the discussions contained in the subsequent chapters based on the articles in the newspapers surveyed for this thesis which demonstrate their role as disseminators of information for and about women, it is crucial that the articles be seen in context. This context relates not only to the individual newspapers from which the articles are drawn, but also to the wider picture of the periodicals which were circulating in Paris and the provinces in the late-eighteenth century. Therefore, it is necessary to examine each newspaper and enumerate such aspects as format, layout and political bias and which sorts of feature occurred most frequently in them and to link their various elements to those of other contemporary publications. Such an examination will permit questions of what influence geographical location had on a particular journal and which types of feature were included in a publication to make it attractive to women, to be addressed.

The seven newspapers which form the principal primary source material for this thesis are, firstly, the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*¹ which was published in Rennes between July 1790 and October 1795 in issues of eight pages each. From 5 August 1789 it appeared six times a week (prior to that it had been published three times a week). The political tone of the newspaper was pro-Revolutionary and even moderately Republican --- it was hostile to anti-Revolutionaries with Charlotte Corday coming in for particular criticism. Yet it stopped short of being radical and

¹ Hereafter, this newspaper will be referred to as the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*. This newspaper's history can be divided into three periods: the first period lasted from 17 July 1790 to 6 October 1791. On the latter date the issue numbers returned to one and because this was the era of the Legislative Assembly, each issue bore the legend "II^{de} Législature". Therefore, this second period can be termed the period of the "II^{de} Législature". The second period ended and the third period began on 27 September 1792, after which date each issue bore the legend "Convention Nationale". Unless stated otherwise, all issues of the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* quoted in this chapter are from the First Period of the newspaper's history.

apparently was not controlled by any Parisian interests during an II. No editor of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. et Bret.* is ever named and it is not clear who wrote many of the articles. Charles Duval wrote some articles independently of his role as a deputy for Ille et Vilaine and therefore of his responsibility for helping to write the “Correspondance” section ². However, this of course does not account for all of the features in the newspaper yet there is no evidence of the identity of the core of writers who must have contributed news reports, essays or other features to the periodical. In the case of *Le Démocrate Français* a journalistic staff can be identified so the difference between the newspapers was perhaps one of time (1799 instead of the early to mid-1790s) or possibly one of place (Paris as opposed to the provinces). Alternatively it might have been a combination of the two factors.

The *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*’s successor in Rennes was the *Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine* ³. This title lasted from an V (1796-1797) to 1819 and thus was the longest surviving title of those quoted in this thesis. The *Journal du Dép. d’Ille*’s tone was pro-Revolutionary --- the Catholic rebels of the area were criticised for threatening decent citizens --- and it had a strong regional bias since it contained a lot of local news. During its twenty-two year career it only ever had one rival, the *Feuille de Rennes*. *Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine* but a mere handful of issues of that journal were published in January 1798 ⁴. The journal was published in issues of twelve pages each and in general it appeared on alternate days, that is three or four times a week or five times per decade. It could appear on any day of the week, including Sunday which in theory was no longer a holy day. No prospectus is extant for this newspaper. The editor was someone named Ducouédic from the start of the journal’s career until about germinal an VI, in other words for the whole of

² C. f. pp. 54-55 below.

³ In subsequent references the title of this newspaper will be abbreviated to the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille*. This newspaper’s issue numbers started at one again at the beginning of germinal an VI and 2 germinal an VII and thus there were three separate chronological periods in its career. Unless stated otherwise all issues of the *Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine* quoted in this chapter are from the First Period i.e. before the beginning of germinal an VI.

⁴ Braud et al, *La Presse à Rennes*, p. 9.

the First Period of the journal's history. It is not clear who edited the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* after that time.

In the Lyon area in the early 1790s, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* ⁵ was a reasonably successful title considering that it had a career of more than two years between 2 April 1791 and 13 August 1793. It was contemporaneous with the last year of Mathon de la Cour's bi-monthly *Journal de Lyon, et des Provinces de la Généralité* which ceased publication in 1792 ⁶. In 1791 the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* was published three times a week (first of all every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday, then every Monday, Wednesday and Friday) and each issue had four pages. In 1792-1793 because of political tensions and problems within Lyon, it appeared irregularly, in a combination of daily, six times a week and on alternate days. No prospectus is extant for this publication. Up to and including issue twenty, the editor of the newspaper was someone named Prudhomme. Prudhomme also edited issues twenty-one to thirty-three, this time in conjunction with someone called Carrier. Carrier edited the journal alone for the rest of its career, though many of the issues from 1793/ the "3^{me} Année" bear the name J. L. Fain and it seems that Fain (who was guillotined in October 1793⁷) stood in as the editor whilst Carrier fled to Paris due to political tension in Lyon. The tone of the newspaper was fairly radical since it was prepared to criticise the authorities and often reported the meetings of the Club central of the Société populaire. In addition, the Parisian Jacobins were regarded as 'brothers' and refractory priests were repeatedly vilified. Michael L. Kennedy depicts this as a 'Jacobin' journal and reports that Carrier was a clubbist. However this is not to deny that it was a

⁵ Hereafter, this newspaper will be referred to as the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*. This newspaper's career had three separate years: the "Deuxième année" began in May 1792 and the "3^{me} Année" in January 1793. Unless stated otherwise, all issues of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* quoted in this chapter are from the newspaper's first year.

⁶ P. Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique* (Paris, 1988), pp. 308-09.

⁷ H. Gough, *The Newspaper Press in The French Revolution*, p. 102.

Lyonnais newspaper, because it definitely was --- it contained a great deal of local news and its editors apparently were local men. It also had pro-federalist sympathies ⁸.

In Ville-Affranchie, the Jacobin name for occupied Lyon, the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire* ⁹ was published daily between 1 frimaire and 13 nivôse an II (21 November 1793-2 January 1794) in issues of four pages each with supplements of two pages each. A Prospectus exists for this journal. In the early issues its editors were two Parisian sans-culottes, D'Aumale and Duviquet. However, from issue five onwards D'Aumale alone was named as the editor. He was described as a Judge of the Tribunal Révolutionnaire. The tone of this newspaper was radically Jacobin and anti-royalist. Because its editor was a Parisian sans-culotte and a protégé of Fouché, the local representative-on-mission ¹⁰, the journal contained a good deal of news from Paris, including reports from the Jacobin club there and thus it displayed centralising tendencies. In addition, Chalier was portrayed as a Jacobin martyr. This journal has parallels with the *Journal républicain de Marseille et des départements méridionaux* which appeared in the eponymous city between 1 October 1793 and 8 February 1794. It was founded by order of the representatives-on-mission and was edited by two Parisians, Sébastien Lacroix and Pierre Mittié ¹¹.

During the period of the White Terror the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône* ¹² seems to have been a popular publication. It was published from 29 pluviôse an III (17 February 1795) to 23 fructidor an V (9 September 1797) and appeared twice a week or, in contemporary terms three times per decade, on Tuesdays and Fridays or Mondays and

⁸ M. L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The Middle Years*, p. 191 and Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 102..

⁹ In future references this newspaper will be referred to as the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*.

¹⁰ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 105.

¹¹ M. L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles, 1790-1794* (Ithaca, 1973), p. 68.

¹² Subsequent references will abbreviate this newspaper's title to that of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*. Its career was divided into three distinct years: the "Seconde Année" began with issue ninety-nine and the "Troisième Année" began with issue 177 though as the issue numbers never started at one again, it is clear from an issue number in which year of the newspaper's career it was published and so no indication of whether it was the "Seconde Année" or "Troisième Année" will be given in the references to individual issues.

Thursdays or Wednesdays and Sundays. Each issue had eight pages. As with the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* and the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, no prospectus is extant for this newspaper. This newspaper was edited by Alexandre-Michel Pelzin, who had been a spokesman for the Marseille sections during the revolt there and its tone was right-wing and as anti-Jacobin as the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* had been pro-Jacobin. For example, it portrayed Collot d'Herbois as a monster. In fact, the tone of the first two numbers of this newspaper was so incendiary that Pelzin was arrested by the Municipality, though he was later released without trial¹³.

As for the Parisian titles, *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was published from 20 February to 24 July 1791. Its full original title was *Le Courrier de l'Hymen, Journal des Dames*. It was published twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays in issues of four pages each. The title means "Marriage Mail" (Hymen was the Greek and Roman god of marriage) and it is possible that the *Courrier's* editor was inspired to create his newspaper by the example of a similar title, *L'Indicateur des Mariages* which had appeared in Paris in 1790¹⁴. A Prospectus for this journal had appeared a few months before publication began. When a correspondent wrote to the newspaper, they addressed the editor as 'Monsieur', not 'Madame' which raises the interesting possibility that this women's journal was edited by a man. This would allow comparisons with *Le Journal des Dames* under its male editors Campigneulles, Louptière, Mathon de la Cour, Mercier and Dorat. The tone of the newspaper was more literary than overtly political --- up to issue nineteen, the journal contained more anecdotes, editorial opinion on women-related topics, adverts and word puzzles than hard news. This was because the editor's aim was to entertain women as well as to inform them, an aim which was very similar to the ethos of the *Journal des Dames* when Mathon de la Cour edited the paper for

¹³ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 123.

¹⁴ Details of *L'Indicateur des Mariages* are given in A. Martin and G. Walter, *Catalogue de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française* (5 vols., Paris, 1936-1955), Tome V: *Écrits de la Période Révolutionnaire: Journaux et Almanachs* (Paris, 1943), p. 259.

Madame de Maisonneuve¹⁵. However, starting with issue nineteen there is a shift in the *Courrier* towards longer letters and articles or editorials about wider political issues and events.

Eight years later *Le Démocrate Français* was published between 8 ventôse and 9 prairial an VII (26 February and 28 May 1799). It appeared daily, except on 26 ventôse, each issue had four pages and its tone was politically moderate. The journal's proprietor was Clemaron from issue one until at least issue sixty-nine and after that Citoyenne Hémery took over the ownership of the paper from Clemaron. The journal was edited by Citoyenne Reyneri from the first issue until issue sixty-eight. She also edited the Prospectus. Thereafter, except for issues seventy, seventy-eight to eighty and eighty-one which were edited by Citoyenne Hémery alone, the journal was edited by Citoyenne Reyneri and Citoyenne Hémery together. The fact that *Le Démocrate Français* was edited by women means that it has links with the pre-Revolutionary *Le Journal des Dames* when that title was edited by Madame de Beaumer and her two female successors Madame de Maisonneuve and Madame de Montanclos, though of course there was one difference in that the primary goal of Madame de Beaumer et al had been to address female readers, whereas *Le Démocrate Français* had a mixed audience. Other precedents for female editorship can be found in Mademoiselle Barbier's *Les Saisons littéraires* which dated from 1714 and in Madame le Prince de Beaumont's *Nouveau Magasin français* which appeared in 1750. In addition, during the Revolution Louise de Kéralio edited the *Mercure national* and Caroline Wuïet edited right-wing several gossip papers such as the *Phénix*¹⁶.

Finally, reference will be made in this work to two other newspapers, firstly Jacques-René Hébert's *Le Père Duchesne* which appeared in Paris between 1791-94 at irregular

¹⁵ N. R. Gelbart, "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press", in J. R. Censer and J. D. Popkin (eds.), *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 24-74, pp. 49-52 and idem., *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 160.

¹⁶ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 10, 93 and Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 169.

intervals, that is sometimes three times, sometimes twice a week. There is also the *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire* was published from 8 August to 30 September 1793 which was published during the siege of Lyon by the Convention Nationale's troops. The journal was a rallying point for the local inhabitants and its tone was rebellious, as shown by the fact that it encouraged its readers to resist the Convention's soldiers. It was also highly critical of the Parisian Jacobins sent to the Lyon area to deal with the 'problem' and it therefore functioned as a counter-publication to the *Bulletin de l'armée campée à Limonay* which was published daily between mid-August and early October by the Convention's besieging troops¹⁷. The newspaper was printed by Aimé Vatar-Delaroche, whose business address was Halles de la Grenette, by order of the Comité général de Surveillance & de Salut public and was published daily in issues of four pages each. It contained no individual features as such, just news of recent events in and around Lyon. There is no indication of how much the newspaper cost or from where it could be purchased.

A guide to the contents of the seven principal newspapers (excluding the *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire* and the *Père Duchesne*) is given in the table which appears on page thirty-seven. From this table it is clear that certain features were common to all of the titles listed, for instance news reports, literary features and advertisements. In terms of the advertisements and literary features, there is thus a great deal of continuity between the pre-Revolutionary provincial and Parisian press and their Revolutionary counterparts. Yet there is also evidence of rupture after 1789. Not only were news reports common to all of the periodicals listed in the table, but those reports were uncensored and covered controversial topics such as local disturbances which were related to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy or the division between the various left-wing factions in Lyon. The 'political' features in the pre-Revolutionary *mensuels politiques* or in the *Gazette* had by contrast consisted of diplomatic

¹⁷ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 105.

and military news bulletins from the other royal courts of Europe¹⁸. In addition, the subjects addressed in some of the literary articles in the Revolutionary newspapers differed from those which were likely to have appeared in *ancien régime* periodicals. For example, in issue number thirty-three of *Le Démocrate Français* there was an essay on natural religion whilst issue seventeen of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* contained a song entitled “Hymne à la Raison” which had words by Chénier and music by Méhul.

The fact that news reports, letters to the editor and advertisements appeared in all or all but one of the journals featured in the table also demonstrates the Revolutionary newspaper’s ability to serve as a channel for the dissemination of information, both local and national, to the local community. Yet in order to transmit such information a newspaper had to attract readers and a significant element in the promotion of a particular journal was its title. The provincial journals researched for this thesis all contained the word *Journal* or *Bulletin* preceding the name of the town or département in which the newspaper was published and they were in no way anomalous because many of the Revolutionary provincial newspapers had titles beginning with those words. For example, there was the *Journal de Troyes et de la Champagne Meridionale* which first appeared in Troyes in 1782 but continued publication until 1795, or the *Journal de Provence* which was published in Marseille between 1781 and 1797. Moreover, many Parisian newspapers also had functional titles, for example the *Journal des débats et des décrets* which, as the title suggests provided reports of the sessions of the Assemblée Nationale and also details of the decrees passed by the Assemblée¹⁹.

As a result, *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* and *Le Démocrate Français* stand out because their titles were unusual whilst simultaneously offering prospective readers a taste of their contents. Since the subtitle of the *Courrier* was *Journal des Dames*, the implication is that a

¹⁸ C. Labrosse, “Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire”, in idem., P. Rétat and H. Duranton (eds.), *L’Instrument Périodique. La fonction de la presse au XVIII^e siècle* (Lyon, 1985), pp. 11-136, p. 33, Rétat and Sgard (eds.), *Presse et Histoire au XVIII^e Siècle: L’Année 1734*, pp. 19-20, 34 and Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique*, pp. 310-11.

¹⁹ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 24.

women's journal must cover a subject such as marriage, presumably because it was an important event in many women's lives. Though the references to marriage exist throughout the paper's life in isolated words or the request for marriage details, the editorials concerning marriage and divorce explicitly occur within the first seven issues. As for *Le Démocrate Français* its title means "The French Democritus". Democritus was a Greek philosopher whose ethical system posited an ultimate good or 'cheerfulness'. This cheerfulness involved the soul living in peace and harmony. Thus, a newspaper with such a title could be expected to want to make its readers laugh or at least smile and indeed one of the paper's correspondents expressed her belief that it ought to bring a smile to its readers' lips in a letter which is discussed in chapter four on pages 183 to 186. The editors desired their publication to cultivate a literary, sophisticated air. Other Revolutionary journals with unusual, interesting titles which were designed to reflect and advertise the ethos and contents of their publications include the *Moniteur hypothécaire* whose target audience consisted of the purchasers of *biens nationaux* (the title means "The Mortgage-Owners' Monitor") and the Toulousain *Antiterroriste* in which Jean-Baptiste Brouhiet attacked local Jacobins and encouraged the local thermidorean reaction²⁰.

The two journals which do not appear in the table on the next page or indeed in any of the graphs and charts in the appendices, which relate to the contents of the newspapers in this survey, are the *Père Duchesne* and the *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire*. This is because they did not have distinct, separate features. Instead, Hébert's journal was primarily a mouthpiece for what a middle-class, literate journalist thought the views and interests of the Parisian *sans-culottes* should be and each issue took the form of another instalment in the eponymous hero's polemic. The *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire*, as mentioned

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 121-22.

Journal Title	News Reports	Subscription Information	Letters; Letters to the Editor	Commercial Features	Literary Features	Editorial	Adverts	Prospectus
<i>Le Courrier de l'Hymen</i>		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Le Démocrate Français</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
<i>Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de Bretagne</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
<i>Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine</i>								
<i>Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
<i>Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
<i>Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	

above, served the sole function of providing the besieged citizens of Lyon with updates on the state of the battle for the city.

Several of the journals in the table, *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*, the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* and *Le Démocrate Français* are known to have had prospectuses and these introductory sheets were crucial not only in attracting the advance subscriptions which were necessary if a periodical was to survive at this time²¹, but also in creating the appropriate image for a particular journal. A newspaper's image related to its political stance and its vision of the new society which the Revolution had created in France but it was also concerned with the relationship, real or imaginary, between editors and readers. This relationship was often promoted as being central to a periodical's role as the informer of the citizenry. As Claude Labrosse remarks, pre-Revolutionary eighteenth-century periodicals made certain cultural statements according to a series of accepted formats which could be easily interpreted by those who read them. The formats employed included reviews, announcements and commentaries²². Revolutionary newspapers continued this function but with the difference that the statements they made were primarily political rather than literary. Obviously, it could be argued that the editors of contemporary newspapers were as interested in sales of the journal as in the views and opinions of its readers, but nevertheless a statement such as this extract from the Prospectus of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*:

Que tous les bons patriotes, que les vrais amis de la constitution daignent donc s'empresser de nous communiquer leurs idées; qu'ils veuillent bien nous regarder comme un point de ralliement; que leurs secours réunis viennent ici former le centre d'un cercle lumineux, dont les rayons iront en divergeant répandre par-tout le feu sacré de l'amour de la patrie²³

²¹ Jeremy Popkin makes this observation on pages sixty-three and 104-05 of his *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*.

²² Labrosse, "Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire", p. 35.

²³ Prospectus for the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* (Rennes, juin / juillet 1790), p. 6.

would have been highly effective in creating an atmosphere of intimacy and a supposedly reciprocal relationship between an editor and his or her readers. Moreover, when the editor urged his readers to ‘nous communiquer leurs idées’, he was underlining his newspaper’s function as an medium for the free exchange of ideas. This exchange theoretically would strengthen and deepen the mental relationship between the various citizens who read the journal as well as that between the readers and the editor. The editor of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*’s words demonstrate the way in which the Revolutionary newspaper press regarded itself as playing a vital role in the shaping of contemporary public ‘opinion’ --- the use of the phrase ‘may they [the readers] see us as a rallying-point’ and the concept of the newspaper forming the ‘centre of a luminous circle’ paint a picture of the journal combining the thoughts and ideas of dispersed, anonymous readers into a powerful political force. These phrases also conform to some of the aspects of the definitions of ‘public opinion’ elaborated individually by Necker and Jacques Peuchet in the 1780s, specifically the notions that public opinion is the result of debate and communication, is without institutionalised power and yet is nevertheless influential and also the idea that its jurisdiction is universal ²⁴.

In addition, the editor’s phrase ‘may [our readers] united assistance form the centre of a luminous circle whose rays spread everywhere the sacred fire of the *patrie*’ reinforces the concept of this newspaper not only as a unifying force in Revolutionary society but also as an advocate of Revolutionary virtues. Since the newspaper appeared six times per week, the message contained in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* could be impressed upon its intended audience regularly and frequently. A newspaper’s periodicity is one of the factors which enable it to imprint itself on the communal psyche²⁵. This idea of spreading enlightenment is echoed by a sentence in the Prospectus for *La Feuille villageoise*, ‘L’attrait

²⁴ K. M. Baker, “Politics and Public Opinion Under the Old Regime: Some Reflections”, in Censer and Popkin, *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France*, pp. 204- 46, pp. 241- 42.

²⁵ Labrosse, “Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire”, pp. 52, 60.

et le besoin des lumières établissent entre les hommes un accord naturel’²⁶. Although the aims of the editors of *La Feuille villageoise* were not exactly the same as those of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* since Cerutti and his colleagues concerned themselves with the peasant population rather than with an urban audience (they wished to prevent violent action on the part of the peasants and to preserve rural social harmony)²⁷, nevertheless their paper’s main purpose was to integrate those peasants into the new political community created by the Revolution. Moreover, they felt that the best way to achieve this was to educate the peasants by providing them with information about the Revolution’s benefits.

The Prospectus of *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* also demonstrates the Revolutionary newspaper’s function as a communicator of information to the community, in this with particular reference to the literate female population of Paris. One of the ways in which the editor hoped to make his publication relevant to women was by giving mistreated wives an opportunity to expose the unfeeling behaviour of their spouses, as demonstrated by this extract from the Prospectus,

Comme ce Journal sera particulièrement consacré aux femmes, celles qui auroient à se plaindre d’un mari trop brutal pour écouter paisiblement leurs représentations, pourront les confier, sous l’anonyme, aux auteurs qui s’empresseront de les publier. Peut-être plus d’un époux injuste se corrigera, en feignant de ne pas se reconnoître.²⁸

In the spirit of freedom supposedly represented by the Revolution, this newspaper proclaims itself as the champion of married women and also as their mouthpiece. It will be what they choose to make of it. Thus the *Courrier* can perhaps be seen as the unhappy wives’ equivalent of the *Journal des Dames* under Thorel de Campigneulles. Campigneulles had urged his

²⁶ M. Edelstein, “*La Feuille villageoise* and rural political modernisation”, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): H. Chisick (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 237-60, p. 242.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 240.

²⁸ Prospectus for *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* (Paris, decembre 1790 / janvier 1791), p. 1.

readers to send him their poems, promising to print as many of them as possible ²⁹, whereas the editor of the *Courrier* requests his readers to submit their stories of marital discord to his paper, in the hope that unreasonable husbands might recognise themselves in its pages and reform their ways. Again, the editorial practice which produced *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was designed to enable the journal to minister to the perceived needs of French women in the 1790s. Of course, quite apart from this altruistic motive, revelations of other people's emotional torments always make good copy since they appeal to the public's voyeuristic side.

The various news reports in the seven titles surveyed for this thesis which appear in the tables and charts, are of course the point at which a difference between the Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary periodical presses becomes visible. News reports represented a prominent part of all of the provincial titles (with the possible exception of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*) and formed a significant division of *Le Démocrate Français*'s contents as well. This is in keeping with the journals' role as disseminators of information to the communities in which they were published and also bears witness to how avid the contemporary French population was for news of the latest political developments and events in their own region and elsewhere. The news reports can be placed in one of four categories: local news, national or domestic news, foreign news and news of the sessions and decrees of the national legislature:

Journal Title	Local News	National News	Foreign News	News from the National Legislature
<i>Le Courrier de l'Hymen</i>				
<i>Le Démocrate Français</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de Bretagne</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Journal du Département</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓

²⁹ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 42- 43.

<i>d'Ille-et-Vilaine</i>				
<i>Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓		✓	✓
<i>Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓	✓		✓

This table illustrates which newspapers lacked certain types of news feature, for instance foreign news was absent from the pages of the issues of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* sampled for this thesis and as a result people could not expand their knowledge of international affairs through reading it. Indeed, there were only four types of news feature in this journal and with the exception of the local news these features on average appeared in just eleven per cent of the sample issues. By contrast, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* did not contain national news apart from details of the proceedings of the Convention Nationale and as a result its readers could use it only as a source of local, foreign or legislative news. In addition to certain newspapers lacking certain types of news report, the pattern of the appearance of the news reports varied between the different journals, as can be seen from the graphs in Appendix A. That is to say, in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, there are eight types of news feature but only one or two of them were included in a particular issue³⁰. In *Le Démocrate Français* on the other hand, there were only five types of news feature but three of them appeared in the majority of the issues quoted in this thesis³¹.

As far as the local, national and international news was concerned the most important aspects of the reports were how recent they were (Gilles Feyel has remarked that from its

³⁰ C.f. Appendix A, p. 301.
³¹ C.f. Appendix A, p. 291.

inception, the French periodical press valued news depending on how recent it was³²) and also how wide a network of correspondents or other sources of information a particular journal was able to draw on when compiling these columns. In the case of local news, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* (in this journal local news appeared in forty-five per cent of the issues quoted in this thesis --- see the graphs on pages 294 and 295) featured reports from Vannes, Quimper, Herbignac, Brest, Ploermel, Pordic in the district of Saint-Brieuc, Noyal sur Seiche and Guingamp. Thus 'local' was defined in this newspaper as meaning not merely the hinterland of Rennes and the city itself but also the whole of the former province of Brittany, a policy which was in keeping with its title. There is a link here with the *Affiches générales de la Bretagne* which was published in Nantes in 1773 and whose owner, the printer Vatar, aimed to receive announcements from correspondents located all over Brittany, for example in Brest, Dinan, Saint-Malo, Vannes, Quimper, Rennes and Saint-Brieuc amongst others³³. In consequence the wide-ranging correspondence network established by the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* built on the existing traditions of the *ancien régime* French provincial press in order to provide its readers with as much information about their region as possible. Other examples of the correspondence networks which supported pre-Revolutionary provincial *Affiches* are the correspondents of the *Affiches* of Lille who were based in Picardy, Flanders, Artois and Normandy or the representatives in Lille and Brussels of the *Affiches* of Amiens³⁴.

The subjects of these news reports were, in 1790-1791, often women involved in either religious or patriotic activities, as in the report from Quimper about a dispute between nuns which appeared in issue 192 or the news in issue 353 from Noyal sur Seiche which concerned the National Guard renewing and women making their oath of loyalty to the constitution. Breton women's reactions to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy furnished

³² Feyel, *La Gazette en Province à Travers ses Réimpressions, 1631-1752*, p. 6.

³³ Idem., "La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d'un réseau", p. 369.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 369.

material for several reports, including the descriptions of disturbances outside churches in Fougères and in Rennes which appeared in the journal in December 1790 and March 1791 (these reports are discussed in detail in chapter six). By celebrating the actions of the patriotic women and criticising those of the women who opposed the Revolutionary ecclesiastical measures, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* attempted to fulfil its mission to spread Revolutionary enlightenment to its readers and the rest of the community. Yet at the same time it also identified itself as a specifically pro-Revolutionary newspaper rather than a supposedly impartial observer of current affairs, as the *Gazette de Leyde* had proclaimed itself to be. The *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* was therefore very much a part of the partisan newspaper press which Jeremy Popkin sees as characterising the French Revolutionary journalistic culture³⁵. Another example of local news in this publication comes from issue 133 from the period of the “II^{de} Législature” in which there was a report from Saint-Brieuc dated 5 March (1792) about the confiscation of the goods of émigrés.

There were as many as six different types of local news features in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, which was contemporaneous with the early years of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*. None of these features accounted for more than six per cent of the total number of features sampled from that newspaper for this research (see pie chart on page 301). The “Département” and “Clergé” sections occurred most frequently as can be seen in the graph on page 300. The first of these features provided, news of the meetings and activities of the départemental authorities whilst news of the activities of priests, often refractory ones, formed the focus of the “Clergé” section. The other news features in this journal were “Municipalité” which gave details of the activities of the municipal authorities of Lyon, “District” which was concerned with reports of the activities of the authorities and also of the inhabitants of the various districts of the département, “Tribunaux” in which details of

³⁵ Popkin, “The élite press in the French Revolution: the *Gazette de Leyde* and the *Gazette universelle*”, p. 94, 98.

the sessions and judgements of the sundry local courts were provided and finally, “Clubs” which contained particulars of the meetings of several political clubs.

Examples of each of these different news features in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* include, for the “Département” section, the “Suite du procès-verbal de la séance du Département de Rhône et Loire, chap. 2. Constitution.” in issue eighteen. In the “Municipalité” section in issue sixty-one there was the news that on 9 August (1791), two recruiters for Condé’s army had been arrested in a house on rue Dubois and in issue 103, the delays in the elections of new municipal officers were reported. As for the “District” feature, issue eighty-three included the news that the citizens of Villefranche were asking the département why it had not given the order for the publication of the Constitution in outlying districts, which demonstrates a demand for political and legislative knowledge in the Rhône valley. In issue fifty-nine in the “Tribunaux” section, details were given of the judgement on the appeal against sentence lodged by the lawyer of Marie Rostagnat, who had been condemned to twenty years’ imprisonment for abandoning and exposing the children whose wet-nurse she had been. The sentence had been passed by the court of the district of the campagne de Lyon. Examples of the “Clubs” feature include the report in issue thirty-nine that once the news of the king’s flight (presumably to Varennes) reached the Société des Amis de la Constitution, which was affiliated to the Jacobin Club in Paris, the society hurried to unite itself with the Comité centrale of the sections of Lyon. Procès-verbaux of a meeting of the Club des Femmes of Lyon held in December 1792 were printed in issues seven and eight of the “3^{me} Année”. It is important to note that all of the issues in which the “Clergé” feature occurs, date from 1791. The information that Jean Gay, the former Superior of the seminary of Saint Charles, had been accused of appropriating the property and effects of that house, appeared in issue sixty-one. In issue ninety-two, meanwhile, there was a report on the supposed prophetess who had recently become active in the parish of Chavanay.

This mass of community information illustrates, in the absence of a surviving prospectus, that this journal's editorial policy placed a premium on providing Lyon's citizens with a full picture of the activities of their regional government and any other figures whose position gave them power over the people. The contrast with the *ancien régime* commercial *Affiches* of Lyon and its literary supplement which was published from January 1784 onwards³⁶ is striking. Since none of the provincial *Affiches* were permitted to cover political subjects, the *Affiches de Lyon* contained advertisements relating to land, goods and houses together with business news and details of new books. News from the law courts represented the only feature common to both the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and the *Affiches* which was not commercial or literary in nature³⁷.

There is also a striking contrast between the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and the newspaper published in Lyon under the Jacobin occupation, the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* in which local news did not occur particularly frequently. This is hardly surprising considering that the newspaper was edited by Parisian Jacobins and designed to be the mouthpiece of the centralising Jacobin dictatorship. Indeed, local news accounts for a mere four per cent of the sample of features taken from this newspaper (see pie chart on page 304). Therefore, this journal's ability to communicate local information to its readers was compromised by its editorial policy. The reports came from Ville-Affranchie and also from the surrounding areas. In issue eight the destruction of the façades of the buildings on the place de la Fédération (this was possibly the Jacobin name for the place Bellecour) is described as being nearly complete. In issue thirty the local news concerned the suicide of Gaillard, the Jacobin former judge of the Tribunal de District who had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the Lyonnais rebels.

³⁶ Feyel, "La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d'un réseau", p. 372.

³⁷ J. Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Presse 1600-1789*, Tome 1: *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600-1789* (2 vols., Paris, 1991): vol. 1, p. 48.

Local news reports were the fourth most commonly occurring of the five types of news reports in the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*, yet they appeared in well over fifty per cent of the issues quoted in this thesis (see the graphs on pages 297 and 298). In this newspaper such reports were contained in the feature entitled "Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine" and the news usually came from Rennes but on occasion from other towns or villages in the département. For example, in issue 134 there was a report from Rennes about the speech to be made by Citoyen Richelot at the fête décadaire of 10 pluviôse an VI (29 January 1798). News of a carriage which was travelling between Paris and Rennes being stopped near Vitré by counterrevolutionary rebels featured in issue number 144 after the beginning of germinal an VI. In issue ninety-seven this section included an "Avis intéressant" informing subscribers that from issue ninety-eight onwards, the newspaper would print the *Bulletin des Lois arriérées*. This publication of legislation passed has a parallel with *La Feuille villageoise*'s aim of teaching the peasants about the new French Constitution and the laws passed by the various Revolutionary assemblies so that they would recognise the importance of the laws and obey them³⁸. Like *La Feuille villageoise* the editor of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* seems to have believed that disseminating information about France's laws represented a significant part of his newspaper's role.

Local news featured in sixty-four per cent of the issues of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* which comprise the sample taken from that newspaper and thus was easily the most regularly occurring type of news feature (see graph on page 306). This section provided news not only from Lyon but also from its surrounding area. In issue eighty-two, for example, there was news of the arrest of the représentant Poulain-Grandpré by Citoyen Gabet, who lived in Lyon and there was a report about a raid on the farm of a Monsieur Fay de Sathonay in the commune of Fontaine near Lyon in issue 205.

³⁸ Edelstein, "La Feuille villageoise and rural political modernisation", p. 240.

As for the Parisian titles surveyed in this research, in *Le Démocrate Français* the local news feature was entitled “Paris” and was included in just under sixty-two per cent of the issues referred to in this thesis (see graphs on pages 291 and 292). As well as containing reports about events in the capital, this section also comprised reports which had reached the capital from the rest of France and the rest of the world. In issue twenty-six this section included the news of the burial of two fire-fighters who had been burned in the fire at the Odéon theatre. In *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* there was of course no local news because this newspaper lacked any news features as such and this factor places the *Courrier* in the category of the press which sought to entertain rather than provide serious, in-depth political news coverage. The fact that its intended audience was female may have been a reason for the absence of political news because the Bordelais *Journal amusant et littéraire* which was published between March and October 1793 declared in its prospectus that it was dedicated to women’s pleasure³⁹.

Another type of information which the majority of the newspapers (except of course the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*) in this research communicated to their readers was national news. Knowledge of what was happening in the other regions of France was essential if people in one particular area were to have an awareness of the new Revolutionary nation. The creation of such an awareness constituted one of the main purposes of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, as befitted its Parisian bias. In this journal domestic news featured in fifty per cent of the sample issues (see graph on page 303); issue eight featured news from Paris about a conspiracy that had just been denounced to the Convention Nationale by the Comités de Salut Public and de Sûreté Générale and in issue twenty-nine there was news from Besançon dated 19 frimaire an II (9 December 1793) about the loss of Fort-Vauban to the Austrians.

³⁹ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France. Aquitaine, 1789-1799*, p. 97.

It is significant that the report about the loss of Fort-Vauban is dated --- the value of news from far-flung regions is contained in how fresh they are and how contemporary they are with the events which they describe. The issue of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* in which this report appeared was published on 29 frimaire an II (19 December 1793) and so the news was ten days old. This would not seem to be an improvement on the delays experienced by the readers of the provincial reprints of the pre-Revolutionary *Gazette*, which ranged from only one day in the case of the Rouen, Amiens and Lille reprints to as much as seven or eight days for the Avignon and Aix reprints respectively ⁴⁰. However, it ought to be remembered that in late 1793 the conditions of war would have hampered the conveying of news reports from the scenes of battle to the principal towns and cities of the French Republic. If a newspaper was unable to provide its readers with news bulletins of sufficiently recent date, then its profits might fall due to competition from other journals whose news was fresher. As Jeremy Popkin has shown, one of the problems encountered by the *Gazette de Leyde* after summer 1789 was that being based in Holland it could not publish its accounts of the events in Paris as quickly as could the new native French newspapers ⁴¹.

The national news reports in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* represented nine per cent of the total number of features sampled, as can be seen in the pie chart on page 295 and examples include the report from Grenoble about the provision of money for the National Guard which was to be stationed on the French border; this report appeared in issue 340. Finally, in issue 142 from the period of the "Convention Nationale" there was news from Rouen about the melting-down of a famous bell, the Georges d'Amboise after the cardinal of the same name. In the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* domestic news bulletins appeared less frequently than local news reports but nevertheless they accounted for eight per cent of the sample, featuring in fifteen of the twenty-eight issues of the newspaper quoted in

⁴⁰ Feyel, *La Gazette en Province à Travers ses Réimpressions, 1631-1752*, p. 133.

⁴¹ Popkin, "The élite press in the French Revolution: the *Gazette de Leyde* and the *Gazette universelle*", p. 87.

this thesis (see graphs on pages 306 and 307). There was news from Le Havre in issue fifty-five and also a report from Montpellier about radicals singing the “Marseillaise”. News from the Armée du Rhin was included in issue 120 and issue 165 contained bulletins from Dijon, Strasbourg and from Poitiers about a couple having been found murdered in their home. The fact that the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* contained news from as far away as Le Havre demonstrates that, as with local news, this journal possessed an effective network of correspondents who would send bulletins concerning important events in their town or city ⁴².

Two of the newspapers surveyed, *Le Démocrate Français* and the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* entitled their domestic news bulletins “République Française”. The bulletins were in addition subdivided by town which meant that readers could scan the page until they found the section of news which referred to the particular town or city in which they were interested. In other words, giving each individual report the subheadings of the name of the town from which it came enabled these newspapers to communicate with their readers more effectively. This method of ordering the pages of a journal had existed in the pre-Revolutionary literary periodicals in the sense that the articles in those periodicals had included certain words which drew a reader’s attention to those sections of the journal which were absorbing and/or relevant ⁴³. In *Le Démocrate Français* and the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* national news featured in over ninety per cent and in one hundred per cent of the issues respectively (see the graphs on pages 291 and 297). In *Le Démocrate Français* the reports came from Rouen, Rennes, Strasbourg, Toulouse, Verdun and even Paris, though in theory there was a separate feature for Parisian news. Examples of this feature in the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* include the reports from Paris and Toulon in issue 103 from the period after the beginning of germinal an VI, those from Le Havre and Strasbourg in issue 144 after the beginning of germinal an VI and those from Chambéry and Aix-la-Chapelle in issue forty-eight of the period after 2 germinal

⁴² C.f. p. 62 above.

⁴³ Labrosse, “Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire”, p. 51.

an VII. There were issues in which this feature contained special inserts such as the poem “Hymne à l’armée d’Angleterre par M. J. Chénier ” which appeared in issue 118, as well as the normal news from various French towns.

Readers of the newspapers researched for this thesis could discover events in foreign countries as well as in their own region and the other regions of France. Foreign news bulletins were entitled “Nouvelles Étrangères” in *Le Démocrate Français*, the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* and the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and in the second of those titles the reports were subdivided by country and then by town underneath the main heading “Nouvelles Étrangères”, in a similar fashion to the national news bulletins in this journal. International news represented fifteen per cent of the features sampled from the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* as illustrated by the pie chart on page 298. The foreign news came from a wide variety of places --- in issue eighty-five there were reports from Italy, Germany and England. In issue 111 there was news from England about the state of the British government’s finances. In issue 151 the news came from Africa (including a report from the Cape of Good Hope concerning a mutiny in the English fleet) and Asia and issue eighty-four from the period after the beginning of germinal an VI contained news from, among other places, the Roman Republic and the United States. Again, the range covered by these reports is considerable and the editor of the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* must have felt that his readers would be interested in reading news from such places. It is not clear how the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* obtained its foreign news bulletins nor whether it employed correspondents who were based abroad. The latter method of collecting international news was used by some right-wing papers in the 1790s in an attempt to improve their foreign news reporting which was often dependent on official, government journals published in foreign capitals ⁴⁴.

The international bulletins in *Le Démocrate Français* also came from a wide variety of countries. In this journal foreign news represented ten per cent of the features sampled.

⁴⁴ Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 12.

Reports were provided on recent events in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Ireland, England, Russia and Turkey, amongst other places. Sometimes the feature was subdivided, for example in issue thirty to include the proclamation of general-in-chief Massena to the armée d'Helvétie. News of the activities of the various French Republican armies also appeared in the *Feuille villageoise* in its fourth and fifth years of publication, in the "Nouvelles des armées" section ⁴⁵ and military news constituted a part of the foreign news feature in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*, even though that feature only represented a mere five per cent of the features sampled from that newspaper, as shown by the chart on page 295. However, this is perhaps not surprising considering that up to half of the sample issues were published in 1790-1791, a time when many Parisian newspapers were printing very little foreign news or none at all because they were so concerned with events in France itself and particularly the capital ⁴⁶. There was news from Liège in issue 191 from the period of the "II^{de} Législature" and from Koblenz and Madrid in issue 62 from the period of the "Convention Nationale". In issue number 253 of the "Convention Nationale" period there were reports from Mannheim, Philadelphia (about the arrival there of the first French Republican ambassador to America), Frankfurt, Lahaye (about Prince Frederick of Orange having been named a Colonel of the artillery corps) and Koblenz.

Foreign news was also a minor part of the contents of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, appearing in five out of twenty-eight issues which represents eighteen per cent of the issues sampled. It was reported from Cadiz in issue seven of the "3^{me}. Année" that the inhabitants of that town were not as fanatically anti-Revolutionary as other Spaniards, as shown by the fact that they had raised the Tricolore and in issue twenty-three of the "3^{me}. Année" there was news from Portugal that the queen of that country was on her deathbed. In the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* international news reports featured in the Supplements to

⁴⁵ M. Edelstein, *La Feuille Villageoise. Communication et Modernisation dans les Régions Rurales Pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1977), pp. 44, 46.

⁴⁶ Popkin, "The élite press in the French Revolution: the *Gazette de Leyde* and the *Gazette universelle*", p. 94.

issues seventeen, twenty-nine and thirty (which represents three per cent of the issues sampled). As with the domestic news reports in this newspaper, the foreign news bulletins were sometimes dated to, presumably to try and show that they were recent, though just how recent some of the reports were is debatable: in the Supplement to issue twenty-nine there was a report from Bâle in Switzerland dated 7 frimaire an II (27 November 1793) which was three weeks old. The report concerned the arrival in Berne of Swiss officers in the service of the Dutch who had been taken prisoner and repatriated by the French. In addition, there was news from Brussels about the huge number of war-wounded in the city in the Supplement to issue number seventeen.

The final type of news report, procès-verbaux of the sessions of the national legislature and details of laws passed, featured prominently in all of the seven newspapers in the tables on pages fifty-six and sixty, except perhaps the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*. This is in accord with the evangelistic role which these journals and many others played regarding the Revolution. For example, the *Journal logographique* was nothing other than a record of debates and the *Moniteur*, although it also featured extra-parliamentary news, made the provision of information about the activities of the National Assembly its primary function. Other Parisian newspapers which featured only news of the Assembly's sessions include the *Journal des Débats et des Décrets*, also *La Sentinelle du Peuple*, *Assemblée Nationale* and *Le Point du Jour*⁴⁷. In the newspapers surveyed for this thesis the title of the procès-verbaux feature was "Corps Législatif" (in *Le Démocrate Français* and the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*) or "Correspondance de la Députation de l'Ille et Vilaine" (in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*) or "Convention Nationale" (in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*).

The format of the section in *Le Démocrate Français* and *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* was as follows: underneath the main rubric came two subsections headed "Conseil des Cinq-Cents"

⁴⁷ *Idem.*, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, pp. 108-10 and Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789*.

(Council of Five Hundred) and “Conseil des Anciens” (Council of Ancients). These were the two houses of the bicameral legislature created by the Constitution of an III. In *Le Démocrate Français* reports from the Conseil des Cinq-Cents were more frequent than those from the Conseil des Anciens. In each newspaper, under the name of the legislative house was given the name of the president of the house was given and below this, the date of the session after which the details of the proceedings would follow. In the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* the rubrics “Présidence de...” and “Séance du...” were employed and in this journal proceedings of the legislative houses accounted for a considerable sixteen per cent of the features sampled, as shown by the chart on page 298. In *Le Démocrate Français* this feature appeared in over ninety per cent of the issues sampled (see graph on page 291).

In the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* records of the debates of the national legislature appeared in all of the issues quoted in this thesis, except issue 192. That represents ninety-eight per cent of the issues sampled (see the graph on page 294) and in addition this feature accounted for as much as twenty-one per cent of the features sampled from this newspaper, as shown in the chart on page 295. In fact, the procès-verbaux of the sessions of the Assemblée Nationale and later of the Convention Nationale provided the journal’s original raison d’être. There is thus a similarity between this newspaper and journals like the *Moniteur* or Barère’s *Point du Jour* which had contained little else in their early issues apart from accounts of the Estates-General’s public sessions⁴⁸. The reports from the legislature which were published in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* came from the local legislative representatives in Versailles and later Paris and thus there is also a parallel between this newspaper and the thrice-weekly *États-Généraux. Journal de la Correspondance de Nantes* which was published between June 1789 and 1791 and written by the Nantais delegates⁴⁹.

Bibliographie critique, pp. 142, 212-13, 242.

⁴⁸ Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 108.

⁴⁹ Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique*, p. 324.

The format of the procès-verbaux section in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* was similar to that in the other newspapers surveyed for this thesis --- underneath the main section heading would come two subheadings, the first of which was “Séance du...” followed by the date (sometimes including the name of the day), month and year of the particular session being recorded. The other subheading was “Présidence de...” and the name of the current President of the Assembly or the Convention. In some issues the authors of this feature were named. In issue 178 the authors were Ô Sullivan (who was a priest) and Costard. They were described as the secretaries to the Correspondence Bureau. Also, on occasion a letter to the citizens of Rennes and the rest of the département was included in the “Bulletin” or “Correspondance” feature. Some of these letters (and the majority of the letters from the First Period of the newspaper) were written by Fermon and Lanjuinais who were described as the representatives for Rennes to the Constituent Assembly. Other writers of letters in this section include Le Coz, Le Breton (who were described as the députés for Ille et Vilaine), Michel, Codet, Charles Duval who was a fervent Republican and a former lawyer⁵⁰, and a P. Quéru-la Coste.

Procès-verbaux of the Convention Nationale constituted eleven per cent of the contents of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* (see chart on page 304). The format of the section, varied depending on the issue. For example, in issue twenty-seven underneath the main section heading was the subheading “Séance du décadi 20 frimaire, 2^{me} année républicaine”, whilst in issue thirty-two the subheading consisted merely of the date: “26 frimaire”. In the other issues in which it appeared, this section had no subheadings. News of the activities of the national legislature was also available to readers of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, though not in every issue because its “Conseil des cinq-cents” feature only appeared in eighteen per cent of the issues of that newspaper quoted in this thesis. Presumably the editor either felt that his audience would not be interested in reading procès-

⁵⁰ M. Denis, *Rennes. Berceau de la Liberté. Révolution et démocratie, une ville à l'avant-garde* (Rennes,

verbaux in each issue or he believed that printing accounts of the debates so frequently was unnecessary. Whatever the truth, this journal does not appear to have regarded its main function as one of publicising the deliberations of the nation's deputies. The full section heading in each issue was "Conseil des cinq-cents, séance du..." and then the date and the name of the Republican month would be given.

Records of legislative debates, which were headed "Convention Nationale" did not constitute an essential component of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*. They appeared in a mere fourteen per cent of the issues sampled from that journal, as can be seen from the graphs on pages 300 and 301. The section's format was as in the other journals, except that in this newspaper the subheadings used were "Séance du..." followed by the date and the name of the month, or "Séance extraordinaire du..." and then the name of the day of the week and the date.

The other type of information relating to Revolutionary legislation which occurred in some of the titles researched for this thesis, was news of laws passed. Again, the newspapers which printed details of recent legislation fitted into the wider picture of the political periodical press in France during the Revolution. *La Feuille villageoise* not only said which laws had been passed but also explained them to its (indirectly) peasant audience⁵¹. In the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* the section which enumerated laws was entitled "Directoire Exécutif" and featured in two of its issues, representing one per cent of the features sampled (see chart on page 298). As well as reporting decrees which the Directory promulgated this section also provided details of speeches it addressed to the nation. In issue 111 for instance, this section delineated the decree of 27 brumaire an VI (17 November 1797). The parallel feature in *Le Démocrate Français* was entitled "Directoire" and appeared in about a fifth of the eighty-nine

1989), p. 185.

⁵¹ Edelstein, "La Feuille villageoise and rural political modernisation", pp. 240-41.

issues as shown in the graph on page 291. In issue forty-nine reference was made to the decree promoting citizen Dessolle from brigadier to major general.

In the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* the feature entitled “Législation” served the same purpose as the “Directoire Exécutif” feature in the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* since it gave details of recent laws passed. In issue eighty-two this feature enumerated the law of 27 brumaire (an IV --- 17 November 1795) which granted eight thousand men in Swiss military divisions, who were licensed by the Estates-General of the United Provinces, unarmed passage through French territory to return to their cantons. This section did not appear frequently, representing a tiny one per cent of the features sampled. Significantly, though, neither the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* or *Le Démocrate Français* analysed the pieces of legislation which they reported and in this way they differed from *La Feuille villageoise*. Perhaps the reason for this difference was that the readers of the newspapers mentioned in this research were likely to have been literate urban dwellers rather than poorly educated peasants who had *La Feuille villageoise* read to them by priests or landowners.

Apart from news bulletins, announcements and advertisements constituted one of the most significant types of feature in the provincial newspapers researched for this thesis, with the obvious exception of the *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire*, though not in the Parisian titles. This scarcity of advertisements in the Parisian newspapers should not be thought of as unusual because very few journals published in the French capital contained commercial advertising⁵². In many cases these advertisements concerned commodities for sale and also situations vacant and wanted. Typically, these columns were entitled “Avis”, “Demande” or “Annonce”. However, in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* commercial, property, situations vacant and situations wanted advertisements had the title “Avis Divers” whilst the “Annonces” section advertised books and pamphlets for sale. In the

⁵² Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 62.

provincial journals surveyed in this research these columns of small advertisements featured regularly and indeed frequently, demonstrating that newspapers such as the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* were continuing the work of the pre-Revolutionary *Affiches* in disseminating commercial and employment information to their local communities. This link is especially evident in the case of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et. Mun. de Bret.*, in which “Avis Divers” began to appear as a result of the merger of the *Affiches de Rennes* and the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et. Mun. de Bret.*. The public was informed of this merger in issue 153 of 31 March 1792 (that is, from the era of the “II^{de} Législature”).

Examples of “Avis Divers” in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et. Mun. de Bret.* include the information about shops and rooms to lease and about a fireworks display to be given by Sieur Albert Grauppersperger which appeared in issue 236 of the “II^{de} Législature” period. The notice about the fireworks represents the same kind of community entertainment information which the Parisian *Journal Général de la Police et des Tribunaux* (1789-1790) had conveyed in its column announcing village festivals ⁵³. To return to the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*, in issue fifty-two of the “Convention Nationale” the advertisement concerned a house which was available to lease. Small advertisements in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et. Mun. de Bret.*’s successor, the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* had the heading “Avis”; issue four from the period after the beginning of germinal an VI featured an advertisement from a citoyenne concerning her classes for teaching children to read; there were also notices about a horse for sale and rooms to lease. Citoyen Danthon advertised his courses in botany in issue fourteen from the period after the 2 germinal an VII. These courses would commence on 1 floréal an VII (20 April 1799). The “Avis” section which contained this announcement also advertised rooms to lease.

The small advertisements “Avis”, “Demande” or “Annonce” in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* represent nine per cent of the features sampled from that newspaper (see chart on

⁵³ Réat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique*, p. 157.

page 304) and appeared in the Supplements to more than half of the issues quoted in this thesis. In the Supplement to issue thirteen there was an “Annonce” about a carriage for sale whilst one of the “Demandes” in the Supplement to issue twenty-four came from a young woman who wished to find a position as a nursemaid or lady’s maid. In the Supplement to issue thirty-two there was an “Avis Important” advertising the fact that Citoyen Calva had just taken delivery of an anti-syphilitic treatment for curing all venereal diseases. Advertisements in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* also had the heading “Avis” or “Annonces”. They represented a larger slice of the contents of this newspaper (fifteen per cent --- see chart on page 301) than in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, presumably due to the greater amount of commercial activity which happened in Lyon in the early 1790s as opposed to under the Jacobin occupation. For example in the supplement to issue eighty-three, among other notices there was an advertisement placed by a young man who could speak German, shave a man and comb hair. He sought a position as a valet. In issue 112 there was news of a flat to rent and issue fifty-three from the period of the “3^{me} Année” included an “Avis” about a lost wallet containing 398 livres in notes, which had been mislaid on 11 March (1793) at the théâtre des Terreaux and an “Annonce” concerning a medicinal and cosmetic tooth preparation for sale.

An “Avis” or “Annonce” appeared in the majority of the issues of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* quoted in this thesis, or in percentage terms seventy-one per cent of the issues (see the graph on page 306). These notices announced forthcoming local events in addition to advertising goods, again functioning as a source of community information. In issue twenty-two a former primary-school teacher named Lomberdin announced that he was going to recommence his classes whilst in issue fifty-six someone from Valence advertised a situation vacant for a mature man with a knowledge of double-entry bookkeeping. An announcement concerning spare places in a carriage going to Paris on 6 germinal (an V --- 26 March 1797) appeared in issue 185. In *Le Démocrate Français* small advertisements accounted for a minor three per cent of the features sampled for this research, as can be seen

from page 292. They were entitled “Annonce” or “Demande”. In issue six someone advertised wines and Madeira for sale and this advertisement was reprinted in issue seven. In issue twenty-three Citoyen l’Épine, who declared himself to be a native of London, announced that he held an English language class on alternate days at one o’clock in the afternoon. In issue twenty-nine there was a “Demande” from a citoyenne who was seeking a position as head of a household and issue fifty contained an “Annonce” which gave details of a new book and a brief review of it. In issue eighty-eight it was announced that a party was to be hosted by a Citoyen Maloisel. Thus once more, the “Annonce” and “Demande” features functioned as a situations vacant and situations wanted column and also as a space in which community activities could be publicised.

As for the “Annonces” column in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*, issue 340 publicised *La constitution française: projet présenté à l’assemblée nationale par les comités de constitution & de revision*, which cost four sols. The pamphlet *Discours de m. grégoire, évêque du département de loire & cher, pour m. simoneau, maire d’étampes* which cost five sols was advertised in issue 238 from the period of the “II^{de} Législature”. In addition, the supplement to issue 376 contained an announcement concerning *La Constitution Françoise, présentée au roi par l’assemblée nationale le 3 septembre 1791*. “Annonces” represented eleven per cent of the features in the sample taken from this newspaper. These notices about new books are the Revolutionary descendants of one of the types of literary feature which had appeared in pre-Revolutionary literary periodicals, the literary advertisement. Such advertisements had become increasingly popular as the century progressed and by the 1760s they were enabling periodicals to cater for as many literary tastes as possible because they could cover a wide range of new works⁵⁴ in a short space. In addition to the literary journals, the provincial *Affiches* often included details of new books. for example the *Affiches du Dauphiné*, which ceased publication in 1792, gave details of

⁵⁴ Labrosse, “Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire”, p. 84.

books sold in Grenoble and the *Affiches de Bordeaux* and the *Affiches de Picardie et du Soissonnais* both listed new books⁵⁵.

It was the “Demandes” section in *Le Courrier de l’Hymen*, though, which was dissimilar to the sorts of advertisements found in the other newspapers. This section contained requests from women and also from men seeking a spouse. It appeared in every issue of the newspaper which is extant. The number of requests from widows was quite high. Men and women advertised in this section in about equal proportion --- as illustrated by the chart on page 329, men were responsible for fifty-five per cent of the total number of advertisements printed whilst women placed forty-one per cent. People placing advertisements gave their age, occupation (in the case of men), how many children they had and what wealth and property they possessed (such as houses in Paris and the surrounding countryside and any land they had). Female advertisers usually stressed their good birth, financial expectations and education and male advertisers often asked for a well-educated female of good family and honest character. The *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* supplemented this lonely-hearts column with a section which gave details of recent weddings. This feature ought in theory to have been the principal one in *Le Courrier de l’Hymen*, given the journal’s title. However, it apparently was discontinued after the first issue, presumably because no newly married couples contacted the journal with details of their marriages after the first week. The format of the feature was as follows: the newlyweds provided the date of their wedding, the parishes where each of them had lived prior to their marriage and the parish where the wedding took place. The parish-register aspects of this feature are paralleled by the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*’s “État Civil” section which provided details of recent births, deaths, marriages and divorces. Both of these sections have a link with the Parisian *Journal Général de la Police et des Tribunaux* which also carried lists of births, marriages and deaths⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Sgard, *Dictionnaire de la Presse 1600-1789*, Tome 1: *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600-1789*: vol. 1, pp. 20, 31, 75.

⁵⁶ Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique*, p. 157.

Commercial information was not only to be found in the small advertisements column. It could also appear as details of the current value of French currency or in the form of a table enumerating the current prices for various goods and the exchange rates for foreign currencies. An example of this kind of feature is the one which appeared in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* and provided details of the interest on various denominations of assignats for or between specified dates. This section featured in issues four, ten, twelve, thirty-six and number fifty-seven of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*, all from the First Period of the newspaper's history and these five issues represent ten per cent of the issues sampled (see graph on page 294). In issue four the interest on assignats for 21 July 1790 was given and issue thirty-six contained details of the interest for the period 27 August-1 September of the same year.

Another commercial feature in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* and also in its successor the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* was the table listing the current prices of staple agricultural goods such as wheat and meat. In the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* the prices of bushels (presumably of wheat though possibly of potatoes), breads and meats were listed and this section accounted for two per cent of the features sampled from this newspaper, as illustrated by the chart on page 295. In later issues, the current prices for cereals rather than for bushels were listed. In the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*, meanwhile, the table gave the prices in coin of cereals, breads and meats. It featured in issues 129, 135, number seventeen of the period after the beginning of germinal an VI and number twenty-two from the same period and it thus constituted one per cent of the features sampled from this journal (see chart on page 298). The format of this feature was differed between the publications --- in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* the table had the prices of bushels in the left-hand column, of breads in the middle column and of meats in the right-hand column. In the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* the table was organised vertically rather than horizontally. Bread prices came at the top headed by the rubric "Prix du pain, en numéraire métallique, pendant la

seconde décade de Floréal, 6e. année de la République française.”⁵⁷. Next came the cereal prices with the caption “Prix des grains, en numéraire métallique, pendant la première décade de Floréal.” and at the bottom were printed meat prices, with the rubric “Prix des viandes, en numéraire métallique, pendant la seconde décade de Floréal.” In an area like Brittany with its agricultural economy, such information would have been vital to many of the newspaper’s readers in their capacity as producers as well as consumers of agricultural produce.

Interestingly, the Revolutionary newspaper which supposedly was written with the rural community in mind, the *Feuille villageoise*, would not have been of much use to the members of the literate rural elite if they wished to acquire knowledge about the current state of agriculture and agricultural prices. There were two reasons for this, firstly that due to the relatively underdeveloped road and postal systems in late-eighteenth-century Brittany, the *Feuille villageoise*’s circulation was rather weak in that area. Also, the *Feuille villageoise*, despite its editors avowal that agriculture was the most useful occupation, did not carry many articles on the subject of agronomy, at least not until 1793-1794 and even then news reports took up more space than features on agriculture⁵⁸.

In Lyon silk manufacture was the focus for the city’s economy, rather than agriculture. Interestingly, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* lacked a column giving prices for goods and the local economy was too depressed under the Jacobin regime for such a feature to have been worthwhile in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, but the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* contained the section “Cours des Soies” and “Cours des Changes” which provided current prices/costs for lengths of silk (this information was vital considering that Lyon was a silk-manufacturing city) and also current prices for silver and gold plus foreign exchange rates for countries like Switzerland or cities like Hamburg. This section appeared in fifteen of the

⁵⁷ *Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine* (Rennes, an V (1797)-1819), 14 floréal an VI (3 May 1798). Future footnote citations of this and other newspapers whose titles are abbreviated in second and subsequent occurrences in the main text, will continue to give the full title for ease of reference.

⁵⁸ Edelstein, *La Feuille Villageoise. Communication et Modernisation dans les Régions Rurales Pendant la Révolution*, pp. 37-38.

twenty-eight mentioned in this research as illustrated by the graph on page 306 and it had precedents in various pre-Revolutionary provincial periodicals which included commercial information in their contents, for example Jean-François-Simon-Ferréol Beaugeard's *Journal de Provence* which was published in Marseille and carried current prices of goods and shipping news on Thursdays ⁵⁹.

“Cours des Changes” was also the title of the stocks and bonds column in *Le Démocrate Français*. It featured in over sixty of the eighty-nine issues and was thus one of the most frequently occurring features in the newspaper (see the graph on page 291). It gave details on current exchange rates/prices in cities such as Madrid, Lyon, Milan, Amsterdam and Marseille and the prices of stocks and bonds. The prices of goods like olive oil, salt, Martinique coffee and bullion (silver and gold) were also given. Up to issue seventy-three, the feature began with the date (day and republican-style month and year) for which rates/prices were being listed and then came the prices themselves, divided into two columns with the cities and stocks and bonds in the left-hand column and the goods in the right-hand column. From issue seventy-three onwards, though, the rubric changed to “Bourse du” (which means “Stock Exchange for...”) and the two columns were now subdivided into five sections: “Cours Etrangers” for the foreign cities, “Changes” for the French cities, “Effets Publics” for the stocks and bonds, “Matières” for the bullion and “Marchandises” for goods like coffee.

Letters in newspapers are an important indicator of reader contribution to the journals in which they appear and they also functioned as channels for the exchange of information, not just between reader and editor but also between geographically disparate readers who could read the opinions of people whom they had never met. Women as well as men could make use of the letter to a newspaper, as shown by examples to be discussed in subsequent chapters. Letters appeared in all of the newspapers in the table on page fifty-six, though they were more common in some titles than in others. For example, in the *Journal de Lyon, ou*

⁵⁹ Feyel, “La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d'un réseau”, pp. 371-72.

Mon. de Rhône letters constitute eight per cent of the features sampled whereas the figure is only two per cent for *Le Démocrate Français*, as illustrated by the charts on pages 301 and 292. In all of these journals, letters could fall into one of two categories: they could be reprinted epistles written by one politician, military commander or private individual to another or they could be penned by a reader of a particular newspaper to the editor of that publication.

Examples of the former category in the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* include letter from Napoleon Bonaparte (who was general-in-chief of the Armée d'Italie in 1797) in issue forty-nine and the letter from General Humbert to the Directory dated 2 vendémiaire an VII (24 September 1798) which was inserted in the "République Française" feature in issue 103 of the period after the beginning of germinal an VI. Letters relating to military matters also appeared in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* in which there was a letter from the commander-in-chief of the Armée des Alpes to the administrators of the département of the Rhône in issue 124. In issue 224 of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* there was a letter written by Le Coz (the new bishop of Rennes) in response to a letter written by a M. Girac who is described as a former bishop of Rennes, whilst in issue 236 from the period of the "II^{de} Législature" there was a letter from the citizens of the district of Guingamp to Louis XVI. In the supplement to issue 376 there was a letter written by someone called Buchet who was a "juge de paix des sections du nord & nord-ouest de rennes"⁶⁰, concerning the advice which he felt obliged to offer to non-juring priests and finally, in issue 915 from the "Convention Nationale" period there were two reprinted letters to the editors of the *Journal des hommes libres* which demonstrates that the editor of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* was aware of other publications and was prepared to use extracts from them to entertain or inform his own readers. There was a letter from Dorfeuille, who was President of the Tribunal Révolutionnaire of Commune-Affranchie, to the Représentants du Peuple Collot

⁶⁰ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1790-

d'Herbois, Laporte, Fouché and Albitte in the Supplement to issue thirteen of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* and a few years earlier in Lyon, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* had featured a letter from the editor of this newspaper to Citoyen Carra, the editor of the 'Annales, patriotiques & littéraires de la France' in issue ninety-two. Since Carrier, the editor of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* was, as mentioned above, a Jacobin clubbist, it should not be surprising that he communicated with another violently pro-Revolutionary editor like Carra.

Yet although these reprinted letters provided the local community served by a specific newspaper with important information regarding the campaigns of the Republican armies or the thoughts of prominent figures, information which hopefully would help to foster a sense of nationhood in people otherwise far removed from the scenes of action, it is the letters addressed to the editors of the various newspapers by some of their readers which offer the most useful insights into the reactions of contemporary people in Paris but especially in Rennes and Lyon to the Revolutionary events which they were experiencing either at first hand or by reading about them. For instance, the Société Populaire et Républicaine of the canton of Condrieu wrote to the editor of the *Journal de Commune-(Ville-) Affranchie* and their letter was printed in issue twenty-four. Even more interesting is letter to the editor from a citoyenne who outlined her ideas for ensuring the local food supply and outwitting uncooperative bakers. This letter appeared in issue thirty-eight and is discussed in more detail in chapter four. The woman felt it was her duty as a good citizen to inform the rest of the community of her idea but the editor was somewhat dubious as to the value of her proposals. A few years later in Lyon another woman wrote to the editor of her local newspaper, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, this time because she wished to know who the 'merveilleuses' were. Her letter was printed in issue 205 and, again, is examined in more detail in chapter six.

In *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* letters to the editor covered all sorts of topics, from the reasons why Jean-Jacques Rousseau ought to be remembered and admired, to the lack of necessity for divorce, women's education and whether or not men should carry weapons habitually. All of this suggests that readers were sufficiently interested by what the paper had to say that they wished to respond. The same appears to have been true of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* and in that publication among the letters to the editor was the epistle written from Fougères by a priest on 17 February 1790 which featured in issue number 192. Although letters did not appear so frequently in the pages of *Le Démocrate Français* nevertheless there are some interesting pieces of correspondence, such as the letter about the disruption of a play at the Montansier theatre by some bandits who let off phosphorus fragments which featured in issue fifty-six. In issue seventy-nine the correspondent expressed his horror at the murder of the French diplomats at Rastadt. Two examples of prominent men rather than ordinary readers using the pages of a local newspaper to let the reading public know their thoughts on a subject come from the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* and the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*. The municipal officials Baymé and Labbé le jeune addressed a letter to the owner (rather than the editor) of the former publication, which was featured in issue number 145 of the period after the beginning of germinal an VI whilst in issue sixty-two of the "3^{me}. Année" of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* there was a letter to the editor from Baille, the commander-in-chief of the battalion of the rue Neuve who was being held in the prisons of Roanne.

Again, the Revolutionary journals researched for this thesis were conforming to the contemporary norm when it came to printing letters on a range of subjects from male and female readers and subscribers. The pre-Revolutionary *Journal des Dames* had contained many letters from provincial female correspondents and the subjects about which they had written ranged from women's intellectual and literary capabilities to an English book on commerce and the freedom of the press. In *La Feuille villageoise* meanwhile, various groups

wrote to the newspaper, mostly priests but also administrators and members of the liberal professions. The topics which they addressed included religion, rural economics, politics and education⁶¹.

The newspapers in the table on page fifty-six included a variety of literary and cultural features, for example theatre listings and poems. This information is best tabulated before the different types of feature are discussed in turn.

Journal Title	“Variétés”	“Spectacle(s)”	Miscellaneous Articles	Poems and Riddles
<i>Le Courrier de l’Hymen</i>	✓		✓	✓
<i>Le Démocrite Français</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de Bretagne</i>			✓	
<i>Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>		✓	✓	✓

The “Variétés” section in *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* needs to be discussed first because it differs from all of the other features with this title in other journals. Together with another feature entitled “Événement”, it functioned as the *Courrier*’s news column and contained national as well as local news. Since each section represented three per cent of the total

⁶¹ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France*. *Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 60, 143 and Edelstein, *La Feuille Villageoise. Communication et Modernisation dans les Régions Rurales Pendant*

number of features in the research sample, as can be seen in the pie chart on page 289, it is clear that current affairs bulletins did not constitute the main part of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*'s contents. The "Variétés" feature covered miscellaneous news items such as the death of a greedy doctor and the issuing of a writ against the Abbé Royou whilst the "Événement" section mentioned events such as the arrest of Monsieur Lameth's secretary and the rebellion of a small town against a decree of the National Assembly. Both sections were vague about dates and indeed were gossipy in tone, suggesting that the *Courrier*'s editor did not believe that his supposedly female audience would be interested in more precise information about current affairs. The *Courrier* was not alone in using these titles for columns containing gossip because many newspapers in the 1790s published street gossip under the heading "Variétés" and details of traffic accidents, suicides and other sensational events in the "Événement" column⁶².

In the provincial newspapers researched for this thesis the "Variétés" section often included details of forthcoming local cultural events. For instance, in issue 134 of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* there was the information that the dramatic society of Rennes was going to give a concert on 24 nivôse (an VI --- 13 January 1798), the proceeds of which would go towards supporting the planned invasion of England. The *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* featured the information in issue 103 that the following Sunday, Sieur Larive would play the role of Zamore in "Alzire" and in true radical Jacobin fashion, issue thirty-nine of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* contained details of the planned burning in effigy in Commune-(Ville-) Affranchie of the kings of England, Spain, Piedmont, Prussia and Bohemia, plus the hated Pitt and also the Pope.

Apart from providing community information, the "Variétés" feature might also comprise pieces of imaginative writing or essays on a range of topics and therefore the

la Révolution, pp. 74-75.

⁶² Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, p. 71.

papers in which they appeared fulfilled part of the role of the pre-Revolutionary *mensuels politiques, littéraires et mondains* or of a publication like the *Journal encyclopédique* which featured essays and reviews on, amongst other topics, philosophy, linguistics, commerce, horse-breeding and classical and contemporary French theatre⁶³. The instructional, fantastic and allegorical pieces about or narrated by the character of Démocrite which appeared in *Le Démocrite Français* fall into the first category; “Démocrite chez un Fournisseur” appeared in issue sixty-two and “Entretien de Démocrite avec une jolie femme, sur la philosophie” was another such article. These pieces usually contained a moral or philosophical or sometimes a political message, as in “La Rencontre des Gueux ” in which its author (in the guise of the tale’s narrator), argues that although they, that is the French people, have been reduced to a state of poverty they can still laugh⁶⁴. Examples of the second category include the article “De l’Opinion” which was described as an extract from the *Publicateur de Nantes* and which was featured in issue number ninety-five after the beginning of germinal an VI of the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille*. Finally, issue seventeen of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* featured a piece about aristocrats and the wealthy having more children than formerly.

On occasion the “Variétés” section could also function as an editorial feature --- in issue eighty-five of the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* it called for the youth of the North West to defend their land against what the newspaper termed brigands but who were in fact counterrevolutionary Catholic rebels. This role of the “Variétés” was important for a Rennes newspaper like the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* because it and its local predecessor the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* contained no editorials and neither did the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* nor *Le Démocrite Français*. However, editorials represented as much as nineteen per cent of the features sampled from *Le Courier*

⁶³ Rétat and Sgard (eds.), *Presse et Histoire au XVIII^e Siècle: L’Année 1734*, p. 35 and J. Lenardon, “The paradox of revolution within an étatiste mentality”, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991); H. Chisick (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 99-117, pp. 100-01.

⁶⁴ *Le Démocrite Français* (Paris, an VII (1799)), 9 ventôse an VII (27 Feb. 1799), p. 2.

de l'Hymen as evinced by the chart on page 289. Indeed, editorials appeared in every issue extant with two or more being included in each of later issues; they covered subjects ranging from the devaluation of the assignat and papal briefs to divorce and how the newspaper wanted to ensure that matrimonial advertisements (that is, advertisements placed by people seeking a spouse) were genuine before it published them. In the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* editorials were less common than in the *Courrier* but nonetheless accounted for ten per cent of the features mentioned in this research (see chart on page 307). Amongst the topics addressed were, in issue fifty-eight the constitution which the legislators had just drawn up and in issue ninety-four, morals. In issue 198 the editorial concerned someone named Cartaut who had been nominated General in the armée de l'intérieur.

Alternatively, the “Variétés” feature might provide titillation as the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* did in issue 106 when it printed an extract from the salacious, erotic memoirs of the solicitor Moulin. Apparently, this Moulin had been involved in the infamous business of Monsieur Girard, who was a lawyer in Lyon. In *Le Démocrate Français* poems and riddles sometimes came under the heading “Variétés” as shown by the “Charade” in issues twenty-four, thirty-three, forty-six, sixty-six and seventy-two, the “Enigme” in issues fifty-eight and sixty-four among others and by the poems “Réponse faite au nom d’une dame à un avantageux” in issue seventy and “A Clara, qui m’avait donné un rendez-vous”⁶⁵. “Variétés” appeared in nearly seventy of the seventy-eight issues of *Le Démocrate Français* quoted in this thesis, as shown on page 291 but occurred more rarely in the other journals (see pages 297, 300 and 303).

Theatre listings and reviews under the heading “Spectacle” occurred in two of the newspapers from the later 1790s, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* and *Le Démocrate Français*. In the Lyon publication this section accounted for four per cent of the features sampled for this thesis. In issue twenty-two it was announced that Citoyen Mayeur was going

⁶⁵ Ibid., 20 floréal an VII (9 May 1799), p. 3.

to play Figaro in the *Barber of Seville* on 11 floréal (an III) at the Théâtre des Terreaux. A review of *la Pauvre Femme* which was playing at the Théâtre des Célestins appeared in issue eighty-four and in issue 222 Monsieur Claparède's performance in *l'Epreuve villageoise*, also at the Théâtre des Célestins, was appraised. In *Le Démocrate Français* this feature could take two forms; the first was headed "Spectacles" which listed theatres, the titles of the plays being performed there and the dates of the performances. Sometimes the details of which actor or actress would be playing a certain part were also given. The other form of this feature was headed "Spectacle" and was a more in-depth review of a particular play at a particular theatre. In issue thirty-two, *l'Auteur dans son Ménage* which was playing at the Théâtre Faydeau was reviewed and in issue number thirty-nine it was the turn of *la Soirée des Champs-Élysées* at the Théâtre Montansier-Variétés. Because they carried theatre reviews as well as news reports, letters from subscribers and advertisements, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* and *Le Démocrate Français* can be regarded as the forerunners of modern newspapers, like Pierre-Germain Parisau's *Feuille de jour*, a Parisian daily newspaper which appeared from December 1790 onwards and contained procès-verbaux of the Assemblée Nationale's sessions, local, domestic and international news, details of current entertainment in Paris, various types of advertisements and also readers' letters ⁶⁶.

In this research, the term miscellaneous articles is used to refer to those articles in the newspapers surveyed which cannot be placed in any other category but they tended to be artistic or literary in content, as demonstrated by issue 207 of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* in which there was an article entitled "Les Trois Formes du Gouvernement" which was an extract from the first book of Herodotus. There was also an essay on natural religion in issue number thirty-three of *Le Démocrate Français*, an article on the origin of the liberty bonnet in issue 191 from the "II^{de} Législature" period of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* (this same issue also featured a humorous and probably apocryphal "Anecdote" about

⁶⁶ Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, p. 61.

a rowing husband and wife from Saint-Malo), the “Hymne à la Raison” in issue seventeen of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* which has already been mentioned ⁶⁷ and a piece entitled “Suite de l’opinion de Blin, représentant du peuple, sur la liberté de la presse.” ⁶⁸ in issue 48 after 2 germinal an VII of the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille*. Some examples of unliterary miscellaneous articles are the lists of errata which appeared in the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille* and *Le Démocrate Français* and the details of recent National Lottery draws included in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* and, once again, *Le Démocrate Français*. There was also the macabre list of all those who had been killed in the prisons of Roanne, the Recluses and St. Joseph in May 1795 which was published in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* or the earlier roll of the Lyonnais rebels condemned to be shot by the Commission Militaire of Ville-Affranchie and of those who had been sentenced to be guillotined by the Tribunal Révolutionnaire of Ville-Affranchie which was printed in the Supplement to issue six of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*. Miscellaneous articles account for broadly similar percentages of the features sampled from the other newspapers in this research, as demonstrated by the appropriate column graphs in Appendix A, with the possible exception of *Le Démocrate Français* in which they represent only eight per cent of the total.

Mottoes were employed by several of the newspapers researched for this thesis, to inspire or cheer or provoke their readers and also to reflect the character of the publication or its political loyalties. They thus constituted a major part of a journal’s communicative strategy. For instance, the didactic *Feuille villageoise* used, from its second year onwards, the following motto: ‘Heureux le pays où l’on ne trouverait ni un seul champ, ni un seul esprit inculte’ ⁶⁹ (‘Happy the country where there is not a single uncultivated field or mind’). The *Journal des Dames*, meanwhile, bore the epigraph ‘If uniformity is the mother of boredom, then variety must be the mother of pleasure’ during Madame de Maisonneuve’s time as

⁶⁷ C. f. p. 35 above.

⁶⁸ *Le Démocrate Français*, 6 messidor an VII (24 June 1799).

⁶⁹ Edelstein, *La Feuille Villageoise. Communication et Modernisation dans les Régions Rurales Pendant la*

editor, an inscription which was entirely appropriate for a paper which aimed at developing the female mind as well as amusing it ⁷⁰. As for the mottoes of the newspapers in this survey, the Jacobin *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* used an extract from Voltaire in all of its issues. The extract read: ‘Citoyens, qu’il ne soit qu’un parti parmi nous,/ Celui du bien public & du salut de tous.’ ⁷¹ (‘Citizens, may there be only one party among us,/ That of the public good and of the welfare of all.’), which was in keeping with the Jacobin control of the city during the paper’s career. The *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* on the other hand, featured a motto in only a quarter of the issues quoted in this thesis (see the graph on page 306) and the motto used in the earlier issues, despite again being a quote from Voltaire, was very appropriate to its anti-Jacobin bias. It read ‘Exterminez, grand Dieu, de la terre où nous sommes,/ Quiconque avec plaisir répand le sang des hommes.’ ⁷² (‘Wipe from the face of the earth, Almighty God,/ Whoever spills men’s blood with pleasure’). In the later issues of this newspaper, the motto was a quote from the Constitution and read ‘Les assemblées primaires s’assemblent de plein droit le premier germinal de chaque année.’ ⁷³ (‘The primary assemblies shall meet as of right on the first of germinal each year’), thereby confirming the editorial preference for freedom and democracy.

The *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*’s sometimes used the slogan ‘Les prêtres ne sont pas ce qu’un vain peuple pense,/ Notre crédulité fait toute leur science’ (‘Priests are not what a shallow people believes them to be/ Our gullibility forms their whole science’)⁷⁴, illustrating the newspaper’s animosity towards refractory priests. This publication used a motto in fifteen of the twenty-eight issues mentioned in this thesis, as illustrated by the graph on page 300. As for the Rennes newspapers, neither of them had mottoes. Whether this was

Révolution, p. 46.

⁷⁰ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, p. 144.

⁷¹ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire* (Ville-Affranchie (Lyon), an II (1793-94)), 1 frimaire-13 nivôse an II (21 Nov. 1793-2 Jan. 1794).

⁷² *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône* (Lyon, an III-an V (1795-97)), 13 floréal an III (2 May 1795).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 22 nivôse an V (11 Jan. 1797).

⁷⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* (Lyon, 1791-93), 2 décembre 1791.

due to regional or chronological factors or to the taste of their editors is not clear. *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* used one of mottoes from issue nineteen onwards, either 'if you want to obtain a deserved success, hide the truth behind a cheerful look'⁷⁵, or 'man is frosty towards truth and on fire for lies'⁷⁶. Since the former motto was used in issues nineteen, twenty-two and twenty-six and the latter appeared in issues thirty-two, forty-one, forty-two and forty-five, a pattern is perhaps discernible here, with one motto being used for several weeks at a time. *Le Démocrate Français*'s mottoes naturally reflected its literary, ironic and optimistic character. In the Prospectus and the first seventy-one issues, the motto read: 'Dire en riant la vérité,/ C'est user de la liberté.'⁷⁷ ('To speak the truth whilst laughing is to make use of freedom.'). In issues seventy-two to eighty-nine, the motto read: 'Le monde est vieux, dit-on, je le crois; cependant,/ Il le faut amuser encor [sic] comme un enfant.'⁷⁸ ('It is said that the world is old, and I believe it; yet it is still necessary to entertain it like a child.').

Subscription information formed a crucial feature in the newspapers in this survey because it provided readers and potential subscribers with lists of subscription prices and told them where subscriptions could be made. In eighteenth-century France subscriptions were preferable to selling the newspaper a copy at a time on the street because they guaranteed a newspaper readers and an income for the coming year⁷⁹. However, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* may have been designed to be sold by copy in the street as well as by subscription because the majority of its issues boasted a summary of that number's contents. The summary functioned as a substitute for banner headlines and was similar to the page of headlines printed in the version of the extremely right-wing *Journal de la Cour et de la Ville* which was designed to be sold in the street⁸⁰. In some journals such as the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* the subscription information feature appeared in fewer than ten of the

⁷⁵ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* (Paris, 1791), 5 mai 1791, p. 85.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 juin 1791, p. 125.

⁷⁷ *Le Démocrate Français*, 8 ventôse an VII (26 Feb. 1799), p. 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 floréal an VII (9 May 1799), p. 1.

⁷⁹ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, p. 46.

⁸⁰ Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, p. 49.

fifty-two issues mentioned in this thesis (see graph on page 294) whilst in others, for instance the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, subscription information featured in all of the issues quoted.

Due to the changes in the value of contemporary French currency during the 1790s, for the purposes of comparison it is best to consider the subscription prices of a particular newspaper against others from the same date. The time periods for subscriptions were always three months, six months and one year, though subscriptions could also be for a specified number of issues. Thus for the newspapers from the early 1790s surveyed for this thesis, for *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* the prices throughout its career were twenty-four livres for a year, twelve livres for six months and six livres for three months in Paris. For the provinces the price was thirty livres. Other Parisian newspapers published in 1791 had subscription prices ranging from thirty livres per year in Paris and thirty-three livres for the provinces in the case of Abbé Royou's *Ami du Roi* to thirty livres a year in Paris and thirty-six livres a year for the provinces (de Rozoi's *Gazette de Paris*) and thirty-six livres per year in Paris (Carra's *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires de la France*)⁸¹.

The prices of the provincial *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* for the whole kingdom were nine livres for three months, eighteen livres for six months and thirty-six livres for a year. In the case of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* the subscription price as given in issue twenty (1791) was three livres fifteen sous for three months but by issue 177 of the "Deuxieme année" (1792) the prices had risen to thirty-six livres for a year, eighteen livres for six months and nine livres for three months. These prices are identical to those of the *Mémorial Politique et Littéraire* of Montpellier, which cost thirty-six livres per year, eighteen livres for six months and nine livres for three months for the whole kingdom, and slightly more expensive than those of some other provincial journals published in 1790 and 1791. For instance, *L'Observateur Provincial* which was published in Angers cost six livres for three months in Angers and eight livres for three months in other towns, whilst *Le*

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 306-07, Bertaud, "L'Ami du Roi de l'abbé Royou", p. 223 and Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789*.

Nonciateur ou les Nouvelles du Jour of Rouen cost four livres for thirty issues (which was equal to one month) in Rouen and five livres for thirty issues elsewhere. In addition, the *Courier de Lyon, ou Résumé Général des Révolutions de la France* which ceased publication in February 1791, just two months before the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*'s career began, cost nine livres for a month, thirteen livres ten sous for six months and twenty-seven livres per year⁸².

The *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, which was published in an II, cost thirty-five livres for a year, nineteen livres for six months and ten livres for three months in Ville-Affranchie. For anywhere else, the prices were forty-eight livres, twenty-six livres and thirteen livres ten sous respectively. This was considerably more expensive than the *Feuille villageoise* which cost twelve livres per year after 18 July 1793 and fifteen livres for seventy-two issues (equal to one year) after 26 June 1794, but the *Feuille villageoise*'s subscription prices were intended to be low because of the poverty of its peasant audience⁸³. The *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* was published two years after the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* and its subscription prices as given in issue five were, for Lyon, thirty-six livres for a year, twenty-one livres for six months and twelve livres for three months. For the rest of the Republic, the prices were quoted as forty-two livres, twenty-five livres and fifteen livres respectively. By issue 185, the prices (presumably for Lyon though this is not made clear) had been reduced to six livres for three months and twelve livres for six months. Where the rest of France was concerned, therefore, the subscription prices of the later publication were cheaper.

Of the newspapers from the later 1790s, the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*'s original prices were six livres for three months and twenty-four livres for a year for Rennes and seven livres for three months, thirteen livres ten sous for six months and twenty-seven livres for a year for everywhere else. By the time of issue seventeen of the period after the beginning of germinal

Bibliographie critique, pp. 32-34.

⁸² Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique*, pp. 317-18, 331-33.

⁸³ Edelstein, *La Feuille villageoise. Communication et Modernisation dans les Régions Rurales Pendant la*

an VI (spring 1798), these prices had risen to seven livres ten sous for three months, fifteen livres for six months and thirty livres per year for Rennes and livres for three months, eighteen livres for six months and thirty-six livres per year for everywhere else. Another provincial newspaper which was still being published in 1797, the *Journal de Provence* of Marseille, cost only eighteen livres per year by comparison⁸⁴, though this reduced price can perhaps be explained by the fact that it appeared three times a week in issues of four pages whereas the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* appeared four times a week and its issues had twelve pages. As for *Le Démocrate Français* which was published at the same time as the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*, for the majority of its career it cost twelve francs for three months, twenty-two francs for six months and forty-two francs for the year. However, from issue sixty-nine onwards the price for a year fell to thirty-six francs.

The subscription information feature also gave details of where to subscribe, which was usually at the office of the newspaper concerned. *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*'s office was located at number nine, rue Serpente, or provincial subscribers could apply to the offices of the director of postal services for their département. This paying of subscriptions either directly to the newspaper's office (in person or by post) or alternatively through local booksellers or printers had been normal practice in France under the ancien régime and it continued to be so during the Revolution⁸⁵. The subscription office for *Le Démocrate Français* at the time of its first two issues was at fifty-one, rue de Bondy and subsequently subscriptions in Paris could also be made at Girardin's bookshop, Citoyenne Hémery's house in rue du Mail and at the office of Citoyen Moller the printer opposite the rue Vivienne. Subscriptions from provincial readers were accepted at the offices of all the départemental directors of the mail. Subscribers were notified that they would enjoy the right to have announcements and notices published in the newspaper. The price of insertion was ten

Révolution, pp. 43- 45.

⁸⁴ Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique*, p. 310.

⁸⁵ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 204.

centimes per line and all announcements received before three o'clock would appear in the newspaper the same evening. and at the offices of all the postmasters and booksellers of the republic. Later, readers were informed that enquiries concerning the editing of the newspaper must be directed to Citoyenne Reyneri, at 134 rue Montmartre whilst enquiries concerning subscriptions were to be addressed to Citoyen Clemaron at rue de Bondy. When Citoyenne Hémery's house became a subscription office letters, announcements, complaints, parcels, money and anything else concerning the editing of the newspaper were to be sent, postage paid, to her in rue du Mail.

Subscriptions to the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* could be made at the office of the printer Chausseblanche, which was situated in the place de la Liberté. No address was given in the case of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* though instead of subscribing to this newspaper you could purchase a copy at the place royale or in the rue aux Foulons and also at the main booksellers in the département⁸⁶. For the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, in 1791 subscriptions could be made at the Bureau d'Avis, place de la Fromagerie, maison Dubois, number fifty and in 1792-1793 at the newspaper's office which was situated in the allée des Images. The address of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*'s subscription office was the rue Chalier. It is not clear where subscriptions to its successor, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, were to be made.

On occasion, the subscription information featured reminded subscribers to renew their subscriptions and also warned of any future interruptions to publication. For example, the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* employed the message 'Les citoyens électeurs, dont le trimestre finit au 15 de ce mois, sont avertis de payer le trimestre suivant pour cette époque.'⁸⁷ In addition, in issue forty-eight of the period after 2 germinal an VII subscribers were informed that as a result of the law of 6 prairial (an VII --- 1799) which had raised the cost of the newspaper

⁸⁶ Braud et al, *La Presse à Rennes*, p. 9.

⁸⁷ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 6 decembre 1792, p. 489.

stamp duty, various other newspapers had increased their subscription prices to thirteen francs fifty centimes for three months and fifty francs for a year. However, the owner of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* stressed that he would not demand more money from his own subscribers.

Reminders such as the above did not appear in the Parisian titles surveyed for this thesis but in issues eighty-two, eighty-three, ninety-two, 102, 103, 106 and 112 of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, those subscribers whose subscriptions were about to expire were advised to renew them if they wished to continue receiving the newspaper. In issues thirty and thirty-two of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, meanwhile, readers were advised that since no-one was allowed to work on the day of *décadi*, in the future there would not be an issue of the newspaper published on the first, eleventh and twenty-first days of each month.

In terms of layout, as can be seen from the table below, most of the publications researched for this thesis do not have the appearance of a modern newspaper since they have only one column of type per page. The exceptions were *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, *Le Démocrate Français*, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* which had two columns of type per page. The provincial titles were generally published in an octavo format, though the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* appeared in quarto format, perhaps due to the fact that the editors of both wished to present their publications as purveyors of serious news. A quarto-format newspaper represented objective, sober journalism and it is interesting that Lyon had two journals in that format because although quarto newspapers had become standard in Paris by the Directory period, provincial journals were usually in octavo format throughout the Revolutionary period⁸⁸. Of the Parisian journals in this survey, *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* and *Le Démocrate Français* had a quarto format whereas *Le Père Duchesne* was published in octavo format, as mentioned above. A Roman typeface was used in all of the titles.

⁸⁸ Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 101.

Journal Title	Quarto Format	Octavo Format	Two Columns of Type per Page	Single Column of Type per Page
<i>Le Courrier de l'Hymen</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Le Démocrate Français</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de Bretagne</i>		✓		✓
<i>Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine</i>		✓		✓
<i>Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓		✓	
<i>Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>		✓		✓
<i>Le Père Duchesne</i>		✓		✓
<i>Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	✓			✓

Printers' imprints were vital to any newspaper in this period because they helped to distinguish one from the next, something which layout and title often failed to do. They also functioned as a declaration that a particular newspaper was an ongoing publication rather than a single-issue one⁸⁹. All of the provincial journals researched for this thesis plus *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* and *Le Démocrate Français* bore the name of the person who had printed them, usually at the foot of the back page of each issue. For instance, *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was printed by the printer- bookseller L. P. Couret from issue nineteen onwards. Couret's business address was number two, rue Christine. If this Couret was L. P. Couret de Villeneuve, he also printed other journals, for instance *L'Observateur François, ou le Publiciste Véridique et Impartial* and, prior to the Revolution, someone with the same surname had printed the Orléans reprint of the *Gazette*. The insertion by the printer in the latter publication of the

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 103-04.

verses or “Enigmes” which the journal’s subscribers submitted to it ⁹⁰ perhaps explains the existence of poems and riddles in the *Courrier*. For the Prospectus and issues one to thirteen of *Le Démocrate Français* the address of the newspaper’s printer was Imprimerie de Lachave, number sixteen, rue Poupée des Arcs. For issues nineteen to sixty-eight, the printer was J. B. Lesourd whose address was rue Niçaise. For issues sixty-nine to eighty-nine, the journal was printed by the Imprimerie du Démocrate Français, which was located in the former convent of the Filles-Thomas. (Since this is given as one of the advertisements as the address of Citoyen Moller the printer, perhaps he became the newspaper’s printer at this point.)

The *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* was printed by R. Vatar, of Rennes who was a printer-bookseller. His address was rue de l’Hermine which later changed its name to rue de la Justice. Someone named Chausseblanche, whose business address was place de la Liberté, was the printer and also the owner of the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille*. In the earlier issues, Chausseblanche is described as the “Imprimeur du Département” which meant that he would have handled official printing jobs for the département. The issues of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* from 1791 were printed by Jean-Antoine Revol and Carrier. Their business address was place Fromagerie. The Imprimerie du Journal de Lyon printed the issues from 1792-1793 and its address was allée des Images, côté de la Poulallerie. Up to and including issue twenty-nine of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* its printer was the Imprimerie du Tribunal Révolutionnaire [sic], whose address was rue Chalier (the former name of this street was rue St. Dominique). From issue thirty onwards, the newspaper was printed by the Imprimerie du Journal for which no address was given. As well as the printer’s imprint each issue bore the editor, D’Aumale’s signature on the front page, together with a device --- a liberty bonnet on a pike surrounded by a laurel wreath. On the pike was a circle with the words ‘Liberté’ and ‘Égalité’ in the middle and the legend ‘République Française’ bordered

⁹⁰ Feyel, *La Gazette en Province à Travers ses Réimpressions, 1631-1752*, p. 143.

this circle, inside the laurel wreath. Finally, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* was printed by J. Daval, whose address was number eight, quai St. Antoine.

Each issue of all of these newspapers also bore the date and issue number; the latter feature was another aid to distinguishing these journals from other contemporary periodical titles. Also, like the printer's imprint, issue numbers sent the message that the newspaper which bore them would continue to appear at regular intervals and therefore was not a single-issue pamphlet ⁹¹.

There is one question which has not been addressed until now, that of circulation figures. The problem in trying to estimate or quote such figures for the titles in this survey is that the journals themselves contain no indication of how many subscribers they had or how many copies of them were sold. An editor may have referred to 'our many subscribers' or 'all our readers' but those phrases do not specify numbers. This lack of information in the newspapers is significant because the circulation figures for contemporary journals have often been discovered in the pages of those same journals, though of course allowances must be made for the boasts and grandiose claims of editors wishing to increase sales of their publication ⁹². However, as a general guide it is logical to assume that within a particular town or city, those newspapers which had the longest careers were also the ones most likely to have the higher circulation figures. An exception to this rule would have been an officially subsidised journal such as the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* because Jacobin clubs would have been instructed to subscribe to it or alternatively, the Ministry of War might have purchased large numbers of copies of radical papers in order to distribute them to the soldiers at the front, as happened with the *Journal des hommes libres* which started its career with two thousand subscriptions but had accumulated five thousand subscriptions by brumaire an II⁹³. In

⁹¹ Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 105.

⁹² Ibid., p. 83.

⁹³ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 104.

addition, the provincial titles would not have as many subscribers and buyers as equivalent Parisian titles.

Considering all of the above, several distinct strata of circulation figures become apparent. At the top level were those newspapers which claimed amazingly high circulations, for example the *Journal du Soir* which supposedly had ten thousand subscribers in 1796 or the *Mercure de France* which in 1790-1791 had a minimum of twelve thousand subscribers. In addition, the pro-Revolutionary *Feuille villageoise* had as many as fifteen thousand subscribers in its first year and eleven thousand in its second ⁹⁴. At the next level down were the journals with circulation figures of a few thousand or to which several Jacobin clubs subscribed, for example the left-wing *Patriote français* to which seventeen Jacobin clubs subscribed in 1791-1793, or the constitutional monarchist *Publiciste* which appeared between 1792 and 1800 and claimed a circulation of 5,200 in vendémiaire an VIII. Finally, there were the less popular newspapers which had circulation figures running into hundreds rather than thousands, or to which only a few Jacobin clubs subscribed. In this category are titles like the royalist *Tribun publique* which had a circulation figure of 263 in 1797 or the Montagnard *Journal universel* which was ignored by most clubs ⁹⁵. As for the newspapers in this research, since *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* and *Le Démocrate Français* had careers of only five and three months respectively, it is possible that they had circulation figures in line with those estimated by Jeremy Popkin for obscure Parisian journals: 400 to 450 copies per day. The provincial newspapers, on the other hand, would have considered themselves to be successful if they had several hundred subscribers; the weekly *Journal patriotique de l'Agenais* sold a maximum of four hundred copies between 1789 and 1792. Also, a press run of three hundred seems to

⁹⁴ Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 178, Murray, *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792*, pp. 306-07 and Edelstein, "La Feuille villageoise and rural political modernisation", p. 239.

⁹⁵ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The Middle Years*, pp. 179, 415 and Popkin, *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792-1800*, p. 178.

have marked the point at which a provincial newspaper would break even or perhaps start to make a profit⁹⁶.

Whether or not a newspaper originated in Paris or a provincial town or city would affect more than just its circulation. For example, as Jeremy Popkin notes, the geographical origin of a journal also influences its appearance and format. For instance, the lack of modern newspaper devices exhibited by some Revolutionary journals is in his opinion indicative of their being aimed at a rural audience, whose tastes in reading matter might be conservative⁹⁷. As this theory applies to the newspapers surveyed for this thesis, Lyon in the 1790s was the second largest city in France. In consequence, its intellectual, literary and political life, including its press, was generally advanced according to the standard of the day. At least a proportion of the city's newspapers might therefore be expected to be innovative by French standards, in other words modelled on English lines. In Rennes by contrast, it is not surprising that the press was more conservative because this was a much smaller urban area surrounded by countryside which was inhabited by peasants with a strong Breton cultural identity. Hence the archaic format and layout of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* and its predecessor. This geographical explanation is significant because Popkin also argues that an octavo format and a layout which does not involve headlines, reminiscent as they are of a book or an almanac, show that the newspaper was directed at a lower-class readership whose level of education and literacy would be basic. Yet it was not simply the case that these two Rennes newspapers were aimed at a poorly educated readership since they did not have more than a couple of other news-oriented journals as rivals in Rennes in their respective time periods and so were read by wealthier, more learned people as well.

There is one newspaper, though, which forms an exception to Popkin's observations. The *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* was published in an octavo format and had a single

⁹⁶ Popkin, *Revolutionary News. The Press in France 1789-1799*, p. 84 and Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 220.

⁹⁷ J. D. Popkin, "Journals: The New Face of News" in Darnton and Roche (eds.), *Revolution in Print*.

column of type on each of the eight or twelve pages which composed an issue. This is significant in a metropolitan periodical, particularly since it does not appear to have been aimed exclusively at a poorly-educated or lower-class audience. Indeed, an important part of its content was concerned with literary matters, current textile fashions and cultural events and activities, implying that it wished to attract a readership with an interest in books, modish clothes and the theatre. What is more its readers not only consumed works of literature, in some cases they also produced them, as demonstrated by the fact that poems appeared frequently within its pages, with titles such as “ La Perruque ” and “ Le Dieu du Rhône aux jolies femmes de Lyon ”⁹⁸. Of course, the above criteria do not by definition exclude working people and indeed in the late 1790s government policy advocated spreading a popular version of scholarly culture to ordinary people⁹⁹. However, the *bourgeoisie* would have had more money to spend on such literary and artistic pursuits and perhaps also more inclination to them.

Neither can the archaic layout of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* be explained by a date of publication early in the Revolution, during the first explosion of new political journal titles. The *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* appeared between 29 pluviôse an III (17 February 1795) and 23 fructidor an V (9 September 1797) and therefore dates from the latter half of the 1790s. Moreover, it had been preceded by newspapers which had a quarto format and two columns of type per page, for example the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* and thus it represents a retrograde step from the relatively advanced newspaper design adopted by several journals in France in the Revolutionary decade.

The Press in France 1775-1800, pp. 141-64, p. 154.

⁹⁸ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 26 frimaire an IV (17 Dec. 1795), pp. 279-80 and *ibid.*, 19 prairial an V (7 June 1797), pp. 234-35.

⁹⁹ C. Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 136-162.

Yet perhaps the publication dates hold the key to one reason why the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* had such a conservative design. Lyon after the Jacobin occupation was a city which exemplified the excesses of the Directory era. The spirit of the *merveilleux* and the *merveilleuses* was very much in evidence and this desire to shake off the austere influence of radical Republicanism is characteristic of the attitude and editorial practice of Pelzin, editor of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*. The almanac-style layout of his newspaper ought to be regarded, therefore, as a conscious attempt to return to the 'old days', before the occupation of the city and all the hardships (real or imagined) associated with that period. Pelzin's journal also contrasts with the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, the voice of the Jacobin regime in Lyon whose quarto format and double column of type per page befitted its image of a serious publication providing political news and opinion. Pelzin obviously intended his journal to be everything that D'Aumale's was not: right-wing, witty, literary and urbane and he designed its appearance specifically to proclaim this to all potential readers.

There is a connection here with *Le Questionneur*, a partisan Jacobin publication based in Nevers which appeared between ventôse and prairial an V (February and May 1797). This daily newspaper was the brainchild of Etienne-Jean-François Parent (otherwise known as Bias Parent), who had been a parish priest and was one of the leaders of the local Jacobins at the time when his newspaper appeared¹⁰⁰. He created *Le Questionneur* in order to highlight the danger to the Republic and the Constitution of an III posed by royalist activists such as Duverne de Presle, Brottier and the comte d'Aunay. This danger was all the more pressing because of the elections of 1797 which would affect a third of the members of the Conseil des Cinq-Cents and of the Conseil des Anciens. Parent naturally felt that it was vital to promote Jacobin principles in the weeks preceding the elections and at the same time to expose the moral decadence of the moderate or reactionary candidates, for example Jourdan

¹⁰⁰ S. Waquet, "Jacobins et Presse Provinciale sous le Directoire. Bias Parent et le Questionneur", *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 57, no. 259 (1985), pp. 60-75, pp. 60-62.

or Bouquerot-Voligny¹⁰¹. Thus as in the case of Pelzin's journal, *Le Questionneur* was the product of a particular psychological climate in Nevers and its surrounding region in the latter half of the 1790s and must be understood in that specific context.

Another crucial factor in explaining the contents and the editorial style of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, a factor to which an allusion has already been made above, is that they were characteristic of post-Thermidorean culture, in which literature, philosophy and the arts and sciences were actively being promoted by the French government in an attempt to encourage Republican morality through the education of all French citizens. What Carla Hesse terms 'Cultural Thermidor' ended the laissez-faire attitude which was the cultural policy of the various Revolutionary governments up to the autumn of 1794¹⁰².

In this new cultural atmosphere, Pelzin and his newspaper had much in common with J. F. Morin and Antoine Lenoir who edited the *Nouvelliste littéraire*, a publication which was first published in Paris in April 1796 and which included poems and articles on cultural issues and events. By disseminating literary and artistic material to a relatively wide audience, consisting of both middle-class and lower-class readers, Pelzin was acting in accordance with the desire of Pierre-Louis Ginguené to democratise scholarly culture by making informative, improving texts available to as many people as possible¹⁰³. This is vital to understanding why he adopted an archaic layout for his newspaper: one of the reasons for such a layout, in addition to being reminiscent of pre-Jacobin Lyon, is that it would be more attractive to lower-class people whose normal literary diet consisted of chapbooks and romances. Therefore, the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* does not conform to Popkin's model since it was intended to appeal to the citizenry as a whole, to readers from a variety of social and educational backgrounds, as illustrated by its combination of popular format and cultivated contents. It ought to be remarked in this context, however, that some of the poems

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 61, 63, 65.

¹⁰² Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*, pp. 142-43.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 152-53, 156-57.

which appeared in Pelzin's journal were concerned with love and romance and it was precisely this type of literary material to which men like Ginguéné were opposed.

Another crucial question concerning the newspapers researched for this thesis is what relationship did women have to each of the titles? More specifically what genres of feature, if any, did a newspaper contain which were intended to appeal to female readers? The fact that the target readership of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was female implies that many of the newspaper's features were designed specifically to appeal to women, though as can be seen from the charts on pages 326 and 327 from May 1791 onwards the number of women-related features in this journal declined considerably. For the last three months of its existence features relating to women comprised only fourteen per cent or five per cent of this women's newspaper (see the chart on page 327). If that was indeed the case then the editor must have believed that women wanted to be entertained and amused in addition to being informed about current affairs since word puzzles and mottoes were included in several of the issues now extant¹⁰⁴. Logogriphs such as 'Dans mes neuf pieds je t'offre un mets délicieux: Trois rampent ici bas, le reste est dans les Cieux.'¹⁰⁵ presumably were intended to give Parisiennes something to think about as they went about their daily business. Mottoes meanwhile offered familiar morsels of wisdom: 'Si tu veux obtenir un succès mérité, Sous un aspect riant cache la vérité.'¹⁰⁶

The editor seems also to have been of the opinion that the average female attention span was fairly short because a significant proportion of the newspaper's articles at least in the earlier issues, were brief, consisting merely of a few lines. Some of these snippets were pieces of gossip about notable individuals and institutions, for example Louis XVI's aunts or the Comédie Française, or ironic anecdotes. 'Feminine' features like these were in accordance

¹⁰⁴ Statistical data relating to the different types of feature included in seven of the nine newspapers which have been researched for this thesis, have been graphed and can be found in Appendix A.

¹⁰⁵ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 10 juillet 1791, p. 164.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 avril 1791, p. 73.

with the journal's aim of diverting its female readership and in addition, they link this publication to early examples of English periodicals, which aimed to attract the growing number of contemporary literate women by avoiding the use of Latin, which was the language of the learned and by printing articles on the subjects of love and women's education and conduct. There is also a connection to later English publications like the *Lady's Museum* of 1760 which included poetry and articles on history and geography¹⁰⁷ and to *Le Journal des Dames* when it was edited by Campigneulles and Louptière. However, the editor of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* does not seem to have felt that his female readers should be kept ignorant of current affairs, unlike Campigneulles, since the *Courrier* did contain some snippets of news, even if they were rather gossipy in style. Campigneulles had believed that the female intellect was inferior to that of men and thus women needed to be denied information about subjects such as science or politics¹⁰⁸.

Word puzzles also constituted an important part of *Le Démocrate Français*' contents, together with poems, especially after issue seventy-one as demonstrated by the graph on page 330. Many, though certainly not all, of these creations were written by men (see the charts on pages 332 and 333) and were addressed to a named woman or described a woman in eulogistic terms, for example Jobart's "Charade à Nadine" or Dusausoir's "A une femme aussi indifférente que belle" and as a result it is possible that women were again the intended audience of these verses. Most of the provincial journals mentioned in this thesis offer few articles which were obviously aimed at women, apart from advertisements of informative meetings for mothers and official announcements which related to the female sex, if the articles in the *Courrier* are taken as the standard contemporary female-oriented features but the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* featured fashion bulletins detailing the latest Parisian styles and, yet again, poems with titles such as those mentioned on page 105.

¹⁰⁷ K. Shevelov, *Women and Print Culture. The construction of femininity in the early periodical* (1989), pp. 35-36, 151.

¹⁰⁸ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 38-43.

Of course women did not simply have articles or indeed whole newspapers aimed at them in Revolutionary France, they corresponded with journals, contributed pieces to them and were depicted in their reports as well. Therefore, the rest of this thesis will examine all aspects of the subject of women and the contemporary press from the perspective of the selected newspapers which have been introduced in this chapter. Chapter three will consider advertisements placed by women whilst chapter four will discuss letters they wrote to the editors of various publications and literary pieces they penned. Specific articles (rather than types of article) aimed at a female audience form the subject material of chapter five and chapter six is concerned with reports of women's actions and activities.

PAGE NUMBERING AS IN THE ORIGINAL THESIS

WOMEN WRITING NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: ADVERTISEMENTS.

One of the ways in which women in Revolutionary France interacted with and made use of the contemporary newspaper press was to place advertisements in journals, particularly the provincial journals because commercial advertising was not common in the Parisian newspaper press. These advertisements fall into several categories, though perhaps the most frequently occurring were notices informing the reading public of the goods which the female advertisers were selling. Advertising was of course not a new phenomenon, as explained in chapters one and two¹ it had constituted the principal part of the pre-Revolutionary provincial *Affiches* but small advertisements columns continued to be important in the newspapers of the 1790s, and women advertisers were a consistent feature of those columns. Whereas women in Rennes and Lyon in the 1790s were the targets of advertisements in the periodical press rather than the advertisers as far as fashion, drapery goods and haberdashery were concerned², it was a very different matter in the case of other commodities. They were retailers or manufacturers (and on occasion performed both functions), agents for national institutions and even travelling vendors or auctioneers. They were thus involved with every aspect of the consumer-based economy which had developed in France by the end of the eighteenth century. The quotes in this chapter relate specifically to situations wanted (in other words women seeking employment or publicising their services, often as domestic servants or as teachers), goods for sale, including medicinal products and books and also, in *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, matrimonial advertisements in which women publicised themselves as attractive marital prospects. Although the female advertisers could have relied on oral communication to disseminate the information contained in their announcements, they could reach a greater

¹ C.f. chapter one, p. 16 and chapter two, pp. 53, 65.

² C.f. chapter five, pp. 204 -05.

number of people simultaneously through a newspaper than they could by relying on word of mouth.

The work-related advertisements placed by women quoted in this chapter concerned both traditional and newer types of employment. One of the traditional jobs was that of wet-nurse, despite the fact that there was a great deal of debate about motherhood and maternal duties in the eighteenth century. Traditionally the second half of the eighteenth century has been regarded as a time when motherhood in Western society was coming to be viewed in a more sentimental, affective light than previously. For example, concern for children's physical and moral well-being was increasing whilst each child was coming to be viewed as an individual who could not be replaced, in the event that he or she died, by the subsequent birth of another infant who would carry on the family line instead³. In England, the cult of Sensibility used the character of the 'mother' in its literature to demonstrate women's moral splendour. Women writers in particular glorified the mother in later sentimental literature⁴. In France in 1760, Jean-Jacques Rousseau was criticising the current generation of French women for neglecting their maternal duties and promised a great improvement in society if they would reform their ways: 'Mais que les mères daignent nourrir leurs enfants, les mœurs vont se réformer d'elles-mêmes, les sentiments de la nature se réveiller dans tous les coeurs';⁵. However, Rousseauist philosophies concerning motherhood were not universally adopted in practice, as shown by the continued existence of wet-nurses, which in turn is demonstrated in an advertisement placed in a Lyonnais newspaper. The advertisement shows as well how, as a matter of necessity, some women ignored the male Revolutionaries' dictates about a mother's duties. In an issue of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* dating from May 1791 (in this

³ P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), pp. 133, 401 and J. Gélis, "The Child: From Anonymity to Individuality" in Ariès and Duby (general eds.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. III: Chartier (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance*, pp. 309-25, p. 314.

⁴ J. Todd, *Sensibility. An Introduction* (1986), p. 111-12.

⁵ J.-J. Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation* (Paris, 1966), p. 47.

journal the majority of the articles connected to women occurred in either the first or third years of its career, as shown by the chart on page 319), was printed the following request,

Une jeune Nourrice, âgée de vingt-deux ans,
 désireroit allaiter un enfant sous les yeux de la mere [sic];
 elle est fort acommodante pour le prix. *S'adresser au*
*citoyen Farge, corroyeur, grande rue de l'Hôpital no. 19.*⁶

For this young woman to be advertising her services as a wet-nurse there must have been the prospect of employment in this field, that is there must have been mothers who would want to hire her and indeed the socio-economic cross-section of those women who employed wet-nurses was expanding in the eighteenth century to include bourgeoises and the wives of artisans as well as aristocratic women⁷. Moreover, those women who needed to work to contribute to the family economy, for instance townswomen who were employed in the textile industries (and this would have been a probable scenario in Lyon with its silk industry) had to use wet-nurses because they were away from their homes all day and as a result could not feed their infants themselves⁸.

The young woman's action of placing an advertisement in a newspaper was perhaps a part of her search for work which also included longer established methods of finding employment as a wet-nurse, for instance working for an agent or *recommanderesse*. These wet-nursing agencies had been in existence since at least the seventeenth century and Paris had had a *bureau de recommanderesses* as early as the thirteenth century⁹. This young woman apparently had discovered how to use new forms of communication to her advantage since a newspaper would allow her to attract the attention of a much greater number of potential

⁶ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 16 mai 1791, p. 4. The italicised phrase represents the advertiser's emphasis.

⁷ C. Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore, 1984), p. 194.

⁸ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 29.

⁹ E. Badinter, *The Myth of Motherhood. An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct* (1981), pp. 92-93 and Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 194.

clients than would be possible through word of mouth. She followed the conventions of advertising as a wet-nurse by stating her age (twenty-three years old), as demonstrated by the following notice which was published in the *Affiches de Lyon*, the pre-Revolutionary equivalent of the advertisements column in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, in 1750: 'One Bernarde, wife of Joseph Chanci, with milk of four months; she is 28 years old; they live in their house which has considerable space'¹⁰. However, unlike Bernarde Chanci, the young girl who advertised in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* did not specify how long ago her child had been born nor did she provide any details of her marital status nor of where she lived. On the contrary, she writes that she would like to wet-nurse a baby under the surveillance of its mother, which suggests that she was hoping to live with the infant's family. It is significant that she claims to be very obliging for the price she charges, because wet-nurses were generally paid considerably more than other types of servants; during the Revolution a *nourrice* earned twenty livres per month and thus more than two hundred livres per year whilst a maid earned only seventy-five livres per year¹¹. Therefore, the young Lyonnais *nourrice* was probably trying to reassure any future employers that she was worth the high wages she expected to be paid.

Of course the Rousseauist view of motherhood dictated that women had to nurse their own children. To farm them out to other women was a betrayal of their maternity and would result in suffering for the child and ultimately for society which would be deprived of healthy *citoyens*. Jean-Jacques Rousseau expressed it thus:

Depuis que les mères, méprisant leur premier devoir, n'ont plus voulu nourrir leurs enfants, il a fallu les confier à des femmes mercenaires, qui, se trouvant ainsi mères d'enfants étrangers pour qui la nature ne disait rien, n'ont cherché qu'à s'épargner de la peine.¹²

¹⁰ J. Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (1994), p. 63.

¹¹ Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 196.

¹² Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 44.

Influenced by this view, Louis-Antoine Saint-Just wrote in 1794: ‘A mother who has not nursed her child has ceased to be a mother in the eyes of the *patrie*’¹³. Giving birth was by itself insufficient for a Revolutionary / Republican mother, she must also take responsibility for all of her children’s needs as well. As stated on page forty of chapter one, the growing obsession in eighteenth-century France with negligent mothers sprang from guilt relating to the increase in infant mortality in that period and also to the large numbers of children who were being abandoned in foundling hospitals. Between 1721 and 1772 the number of infants being admitted to the Paris Foundling Hospital multiplied incessantly and this situation was the result, first of fathers abandoning the mothers of their illegitimate offspring and subsequently of the mothers themselves abandoning their illegitimate babies because they lacked the resources to support them¹⁴.

The mentality of the political men of Revolutionary France and also of a good deal of the French population in the late eighteenth-century was influenced by Rousseauist ideas about maternal responsibilities to the extent that the Revolutionary period saw the development of a cult of motherhood in which mothers were supposed to exist only within the private, domestic sphere of the home. The Revolutionaries felt that women had abandoned their natural destiny of wife and mother and the retreat of the home in order to flaunt themselves in public and that this action was the major cause of the immorality of the *ancien régime*¹⁵. For instance, in February 1791 Joseph Prudhomme set out the blueprint for the Revolutionary mother,

without leaving your homes, you can already do much
for it [the Revolution]. The liberty of a people is based on good
morals and education, and you are their guardians and their
first dispensers.¹⁶

¹³ C. E. Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution* (New York, 1990), p. 59.

¹⁴ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, pp. 25, 30.

¹⁵ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 55.

¹⁶ Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, p. 122.

Thus women in Revolutionary France and particularly women in their maternal capacity were seen as the key to the moral regeneration of society, although this would be true only of 'good' mothers who were submissive and nurturing. A 'bad' mother --- someone who was promiscuous and who crossed the line into the political sphere --- could corrupt society. As a result Marie-Antoinette was vilified for having affairs and even for committing incest with her son (this latter, fictitious charge was brought at the queen's trial by Jacques-René Hébert ¹⁷). A 'good' mother was granted a position of moral superiority, within the home at least.

However, to return to the advertisement offering the services of the young Lyonnais wet-nurse, the class element cannot be dismissed from a discussion of late-eighteenth-century maternal philosophies. That is to say, as mentioned above, a *petite bourgeoise* or a lower-class mother would have been more likely to hire a paid wet-nurse by the end of the eighteenth century. Females of higher social rank who were not required to work for a living would have the time to respond to Rousseau's philosophies on maternity by nursing their own children, but poorer women who had to work, for example mothers who worked as embroiderers or seamstresses and who would not have the time to feed their infants whilst working, would need to farm their children out to nurses. Alternatively, working women might be hired themselves as a wet-nurse for the children of wealthier women. The changing sociological origins of the clients of the wet-nursing industry are emphasised by Elisabeth Badinter who states that middle-class women were beginning to keep their children with them in the last decades of the eighteenth century, despite the fact that between 1774 and 1794 the offspring of merchants constituted the largest single group sent to wet nurses ¹⁸. Therefore, only middle-class mothers were in a position to support the Revolution and in theory accept the Revolutionary definition of virtuous femininity by fulfilling all their maternal duties in practice

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁸ Badinter, *The Myth of Motherhood. An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct*, pp. 45- 46, 190.

and so the Enlightenment criticism of women who did not breast-feed their own children was a cultural phenomenon rather than one which was socially accurate¹⁹.

The continued demand for domestic servants in France in the 1790s is demonstrated by several notices which appeared in both Parisian and provincial newspapers in that decade. Domestic service was another traditional female occupation but nevertheless the proportion of women servants was growing in the late-eighteenth century and by the middle of the next century the majority of domestics were women²⁰. In fact, advertisements for domestic servants were one of the few kinds of commercial and employment notices which appeared in the contemporary Parisian press, due to the large numbers of people both young and older who migrated to Paris in search of work and also the greater number of prospective employers there than in any other French city. An announcement of this type was published under the title of “Demande” in *Le Démocrate Français* in the late 1790s (in the range of articles from this newspaper surveyed for this research, those written by or which refer to women occur more frequently towards the end of the newspaper’s life, as shown by the graph on page 312):

Une citoyenne âgée de quarante ans, ayant reçue une bonne éducation, désirerait être à la tête de la maison d’une femme, ou homme seul. Elle donnera des renseignemens [sic] sur sa moralité; s’adresser au bureau du journal rue de Bondi, no. 51.²¹

The woman who placed this advertisement, perhaps because she was forty years old and thus possessed a good deal of experience as a servant, was not seeking any post which was available. On the contrary, she emphasised her education and her moral standards, about which latter point she was prepared to give information and the fact that she wished to be appointed

¹⁹ M. Jacobus, “Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution”, in Melzer and Rabine, (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution*, pp. 54-75, p. 54.

²⁰ Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 15.

²¹ *Le Démocrate Français*, 7 germinal an VII (27 March 1799), p. 4.

as the head of the household of a single man or woman. She seems to have been a cook-housekeeper rather than a scullery maid and the position of housekeeper was a responsible, semi-professional one.

Whether or not prospective employers would have been interested in her claim to be educated is uncertain, since in the late-eighteenth century people who advertised for servants almost invariably stressed skills such as cooking or driving a carriage and did not mention intellectual capabilities. Yet the Parisian female servant was not an anomaly or an isolated case because numerous instances exist of apparently literate servants and other workers advertising in the eighteenth-century periodical press, for example the group of working people who placed notices in the *Affiches de Lyon* in 1772 and who each stated that they were able to read and write²². Like these workers, the Parisian woman domestic was determined to portray herself to the local community as someone who was able to comprehend or even play a part in the culturally advanced world of her employers, though of course her future master and mistress may well have felt ill at ease with the idea of a servant who was their equal in matters of literacy and culture. Ironically, though, such a fear would possibly have been unfounded considering that Cissie Fairchilds has asserted that literacy among servants increased rather than diminished their dependence on and respect for their employers because once they were able to read and write servants realised the full extent of their cultural inferiority to their masters²³.

This issue of the literacy of servants is crucial because it has implications for the way in which contemporary women made use of the newspaper press. It has already been asserted in chapter one that Rennes and Lyon in the late-eighteenth century contained significant minorities of women who were able to read and write yet Cissie Fairchilds has argued that where domestic servants were concerned, the gap between the literacy rates for contemporary

²² Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, p. 65.

²³ Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 116.

men and women was wider than average difference between the sexes in the eighteenth century of fifteen to twenty percentage points²⁴. To support her contention she quotes the percentages of male and female domestics in Toulouse and Bordeaux who were able to sign their marriage contracts: in the late 1720s a negligible 1.4 per cent of female servants in Toulouse signed though that figure had risen to ten per cent by the eve of the Revolution. In Bordeaux, meanwhile, the percentages were higher (though still low in absolute terms) with eleven per cent of female servants able to sign in 1727-1729 and seventeen able to do the same in 1787-1789²⁵. These statistics would seem to suggest that few female servants in provincial cities would be in a position to read newspapers or use them as a means of finding work but nevertheless the advertisement quoted above exists, as do other examples of notices placed by people who wished to be employed in domestic service.

The explanation for the existence of these notices could be that the advertisers had enlisted a literate friend to write their announcements but there is an alternative scenario, one which is linked to the differing levels of eighteenth-century servant literacy. Fairchilds nuances her picture of the generally illiterate female servant by admitting that certain groups of higher women servants, for instance cooks or *femmes de chambre* were much more likely to be literate than *servantes* (maids-of-all-work) and this information is relevant not only to the Parisian woman in the 1790s who is referred to above and who wished to be responsible for a household, but also to another woman who placed a situation wanted advertisement relating to domestic service in the Revolutionary periodical press, this time in Lyon.

Une personne sachant coëffer, faire les modes & les robes, desireroit
trouver une place de femme de chambre: ou bien elle s'offre pour avoir soin
des jeunes Demoiselles, ou pour gouverner une maison. Elle est de cette ville
& est très-connue. *S'adresser chez le C. Treillard, liquoriste rue Bas-d'Argent.*²⁶

²⁴ Ibid., p. 113.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 113.

²⁶ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 7 octobre 1791, p. 4. The address is

Unlike the Parisienne in the previous quote the woman who penned this notice was prepared to accept various posts within a household, though her main skills were those of a lady's maid, for instance hairdressing and dressmaking. However, she is similar to the other advertiser in that she writes that she is capable of being in charge of the household of the person who employs her. She describes herself specifically as a "femme de chambre" and thus it is probable that she (and obviously also the Parisian woman who wrote that she was educated), was literate because such a role often involved the ability to read and write. For example, a *femme de chambre* might be required to read to her employers and this is reflected in the literacy figures for this group of female servants in Toulouse and Bordeaux at the end of the 1780s which were fifty per cent and sixty per cent respectively, whilst in Paris in the same period one hundred per cent of the *femmes de chambre* were literate²⁷.

It should be remembered that the ability to sign a marriage contract does not necessarily denote anything more than the most basic level of literacy and it is true that some of the women in eighteenth-century France who could read and write remained part of an oral female culture because they were poorly educated and could only understand the primer and simple religious tracts²⁸. In other words they would have been incapable of understanding the political and philosophical issues which were discussed by intellectuals and highly educated and cultured members of the bourgeoisie. Considering this point, it is perhaps helpful to postulate that female interaction with the newspaper press in Revolutionary France could happen on one of several levels. The lowest level is represented by those women who would have heard about the contents of a newspaper from other people, without actually reading it personally. Those women who belonged to the uppermost level of interaction with the Revolutionary newspaper press would have been able to read and understand not only the advertisements column but also the literary and philosophical features in the paper themselves

printed in italics in the newspaper.

²⁷ Fairchild, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 115.

²⁸ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*.

and would have contributed letters, poems or essays to the paper. Between these two extremes, however, would have lain a middle stratum, consisting of those who were able to read the advertisements and who were in addition able to make use of the paper to transmit information to the community by placing notices of their own but who could not understand the essays and literary features because they lacked the appropriate knowledge and education. Specialised, highly skilled servants like housekeepers and ladies' maids would have fallen into this category.

Another important aspect of the advertisement placed by the Lyonnais woman is that presents herself as a competent, intelligent individual who is known to the local community and is in consequence respectable. Given that servants were often regarded as unreliable, her claim to respectability was a crucial element of her advertisement²⁹. The reasons why female domestics were viewed as having dubious morals and as being untrustworthy were linked to their difficult position which they occupied in contemporary society. Because they were part of a household and therefore 'belonged' to their masters, young unmarried men were hostile towards them because they were not freely available to have sexual relations with the aforementioned young men³⁰. As for bourgeois women and the wives of artisans who were the likely employers of female domestics in the second half of the eighteenth century, they would have regarded such women in a negative light because of the number of illegitimate children which women servants bore. That is to say, a higher percentage of women in domestic service than of other groups of working women became pregnant out of wedlock -- in Aix-en Provence fifty-eight per cent of the unmarried women who became pregnant during the whole of the eighteenth century were servants and the figure for Bordeaux between 1772 and 1784 was twenty per cent³¹. These statistics are the result of the fact that

p. 108.

²⁹ S. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France. The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, 1983), p. 54.

³⁰ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 28.

³¹ Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 86.

female servants were seduced by their male employers (and they were particularly at risk from the sexual advances of their masters if they were lone maids-of-all work in a household) and also by soldiers or even by male servants³².

There is also an announcement from a woman who wished to find a position as a domestic servant which was published in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*. She was a cook, pastry chef and also a laundress and she described herself thus in her “Demande Particulière”: ‘Une Cuisinière intelligente; sachant faire la pâtisserie, raccommoder [sic] le linge, & blanchir, desireroit trouver une place dans une bonne maison. S’adresser, rue Misère, N°. 127, au troisième étage, chez Chavanon.’³³ The range of skills which she advertises are similar to those listed by a woman who had advertised in the pre-Revolutionary *Affiches de Lyon* in September 1765. That female servant had declared that she knew how to wash and iron fine linen and in addition she could store jellies and brew liqueurs. The specific skill of whitening clothes which was included in the notice in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* was also cited by a female advertiser in the *Journal de Guienne* in 1784 who said that she could ‘iron, work in linen, whiten silk stockings, dye ribbons, and clean satins and taffetas’³⁴. It is important to note that neither this woman nor the other two female servants who placed the advertisements quoted previously, mention the issue of pay. This was not unusual at the time and indeed it was not customary for either employers or workers to discuss wages in contemporary job advertisements; on the rare occasions when reference was made to wages, it tended to be in the form of board and lodging rather than money³⁵.

The advertisement from the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* is also significant because the majority of the examples of women advertising their wares and services in local newspapers, come from the early 1790s (mostly from Lyon) or the end of that decade (from Rennes and

³² Ibid., pp. 86-87, 180 and O. H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789* (Oxford, 1974), p. 312.

³³ Supplement to *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 13 frimaire an II (3 Dec. 1793), p. 76.

³⁴ Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, p. 63.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 63 and Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 27.

Lyon). There appears to have been a cessation of economic activity in Rennes and Lyon during the period of the Jacobin dictatorship. In the case of Lyon this was the direct result of the Jacobin occupation of the city, which caused the local population to decline due to higher rates of mortality and emigration³⁶. Fewer inhabitants meant fewer consumers and fewer workers. The silk-workers of the Croix-Rousse quartier suffered especially, due to their homes having been blasted by cannon in the last weeks of the siege of Lyon and also because the Antique austerity favoured by the Jacobins meant that the latter were not favourably disposed towards luxury trades such as the silk industry³⁷. Yet although there are considerably fewer commercial notices placed by women, and indeed also by men, in the Lyonnais press in the last months of 1793 and in 1794, consumerism and the economic networks which supported it were not eradicated entirely. For instance, the female cook must have believed that someone would be able to afford to employ her and indeed would be interested in hiring servants, or she would not have advertised her services. In addition, a Widow Barat who wished to sell a carriage or cart also placed an announcement in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, in the same issue as the cook/laundress. The notice concerning the carriage read: ‘Carriole à vendre. Elle est très-légère, presque neuve, & à 8 places.’³⁸. These quotations demonstrate that in a city like Lyon, with a strong commercial community which incorporated a reasonable proportion of the population at one time or another, the economic problems which accompanied the period of the Jacobin ascendancy merely hindered the commercial and consumer activities of the population.

Women needing to earn a living in Revolutionary France might decide to take in lodgers, as for example did Citoyenne Nizet.

³⁶ W. D. Edmonds, *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon 1789-1793* (Oxford, 1990), p. 303.

³⁷ A. Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor* (Oxford, 1981), p. 87 and Edmonds, *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon 1789-1793*, p. 155. For more information on the subject of the poor during the Revolution, see Forrest’s introductory essay on “Public Assistance” and the documents which follow in *The French Revolution Research Collection* (12 vols., Oxford, 1989-1992), Section 9: *The Reorganisation of Society*.

³⁸ Supplement to *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 13 frimaire an II (3 Dec. 1793), p. 76.

Pension bourgeoise à une table particulière, formant une société, chez la citoyenne Nizet, veuve La chapelle, qui desireroit augmenter le nombre de ses pensionnaires.

*Rue de l'Enfant qui pisse, maison Savaron, N^o. 106, au 1er., au fond de la cour à gauche.*³⁹

This Lyonnais widow's advertisement appeared in no less than twenty-three issues of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* which suggests that she experienced some difficulty in attracting boarders, or at least the right sort of boarders.

Apart from wet-nursing, being in domestic service or accommodating lodgers, provincial women in Revolutionary France could earn a living by offering elementary schooling to children or by running a school which taught a wider range of subjects. The newspapers researched for this thesis contain several advertisements relating to women teaching: for example, in Rennes in 1792 a Demoiselle Navare placed an advertisement in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* which gave information about the school which she ran. (About half of the articles from this newspaper which were written by or which mention women occur in the first year of its history, that is, 1790-1791, as can be seen in the graph on page 314).

La demoiselle navare demeurant grande maison de saint aubin,
place sainte-anne à rennes, tient école d'écriture & arithmetique [sic];
elle se transporte aussi pour la commodité du public, dans les maisons
particulières⁴⁰

The instruction which this woman offered was rudimentary, covering writing and arithmetic, which means that her school was an elementary or primary one. What is not clear is whether the school was co-educational or single-sex, though it was probably the former since

³⁹ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 3 germinal an V (23 March 1797), p. 76. The address is italicised in the original text.

⁴⁰ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 13

Demoiselle Navare, unlike other advertisers who ran schools, does not declare that entry to it is restricted to girls.

The fact that she provided elementary education means that Demoiselle Navare's pupils were probably from *petit bourgeois* or artisanal families, though she may also have taught slightly wealthier children when she made home visits. She was not the only teacher who advertised such a service. Another Rennais woman who taught the rudiments of learning perhaps to *petit bourgeois* children placed an announcement in the same newspaper as Demoiselle Navare, just a few days after the latter had placed hers, showing that there were several schoolmistresses working in Rennes in the early 1790s.

Mademoiselle remelein, maîtresse d'écriture, demeurant sur
la place sainte-anne, offre ses services pour apprendre à lire & à
écrire à la jeunesse; elle tient classe chez elle depuis 8 heures du matin
jusqu'à 11, & depuis deux heures de l'après-midi jusqu'à 5. Pour la
commodité du public elle se transporte chez les particuliers.⁴¹

It can be seen that there is more than one similarity between these advertisements, even though Mademoiselle Remelein teaches 'young girls' (in older usage, *jeunesse* could mean 'young girls' as well as 'young people') meaning that her school was not co-educational. For instance, both women offer instruction in writing, though Mademoiselle Remelein also teaches her pupils to read. However the most important similarity is the fact that like Demoiselle Navare, Mademoiselle Remelein is available for home tuition. These women needed the extra income which they derived from individual tuition in order to secure their livelihoods. Mademoiselle Remelein was clearly a spinster and so was Demoiselle Navare. As such they had to support themselves financially and teaching was their means of doing so, which implies that they were impoverished *bourgeoises* or even minor gentility --- middle-class women who had to earn

septembre 1792, p. 544.

⁴¹ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 19 septembre 1792, p. 584.

their own living would have had few abilities and experiences except their education and learning with which to find work. They represent the French Revolutionary equivalent of the Victorian governess.

Not all schools in France in the 1790s which taught both girls and boys would make an identical curriculum available to both sexes. In the same city of Rennes in the second half of the decade a man ran a boys' school a section of which was reserved for girls, who were taught by his wife. Their advertisement in the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* read:

Le citoyen *Fouchard*, maître d'écriture, d'arithmétique [sic]
et de grammaire française, demeurant à Rennes, rue aux Foulons N°. 28,
se propose de prendre des pensionnaires; il tient classe d'écriture et de
calcul le matin et l'après-midi, et donne des leçons en ville; il enseigne
aussi la géographie, ainsi qu'à tenir en parties doubles les livres du
commerce; son épouse tient classe d'écriture [sic] et de calcul pour les
filles.⁴²

The most significant parts of the advertisement from the perspective of the education of girls are the lists of those subjects which Citoyen Fouchard will teach to boys and of those subjects which his wife will teach to girls. Although writing and arithmetic are the core subjects of the boys' curriculum male pupils will in addition have the opportunity to learn geography and double entry bookkeeping from Citoyen Fouchard. It could be argued that girls would also be able to take advantage of these geography and bookkeeping lessons though this seems unlikely given that the advertisement states that Citoyenne Fouchard holds classes for girls. Citoyen Fouchard taught only boys. Thus whilst girls could receive instruction in arithmetic and writing from his wife, they were barred from learning extra subjects the implication being that they would not require knowledge on a topic such as geography or bookkeeping in their adult roles in life, though basic literacy and numeracy would be of use.

⁴² *Journal du Département d'Ille et Vilaine*, 20 brumaire an VI (10 Nov. 1797), p. 1152. Citoyen Fouchard's

However, the idea that girls in France in the 1790s did not need to learn extra subjects, was wrong in the case of bookkeeping. Artisan's wives, as Dominique Godineau has remarked, often kept the accounts for the familial enterprise ⁴³.

Another advertisement placed in the same newspaper just a few months later by a Citoyenne Desperrois stressed that this teacher employed a well-known system for learning to read:

La citoyenne *Desperrois* enseigne à lire avec le quadrille de M. Berthaud. Cette manière est aussi courte qu'amusante pour les enfans. Elle en a chez elle actuellement plusieurs, qui ne sont âgés que de six ans, et qui lisent couramment, un qui n'a que cinq ans. Un enfant de l'âge de six à sept ans, peut apprendre dans l'espace de quelque mois. Elle demeure dans la communauté des ci-devant Cordeliers. ⁴⁴

Presumably Citoyenne Desperrois hoped that Monsieur Bertaud's method, which apparently is amusing for children and will achieve results in the space of a few months, would persuade parents to send their offspring to her for lessons.

One educational institution for girls which taught a broad range of subjects to its pupils and for which an announcement appeared in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, was that run by Citoyennes Revin and Gaudichau in Lyon in the late 1790s.

Les citoyennes Revin & Gaudichau viennent de former une maison d'éducation pour les jeunes personnes, dans une position fort agréable, avec un jardin sur la colline de la rue Masson, N°. 53. Elles se chargeront de celles qu'on leur confiera depuis l'âge de six ans jusqu'à douze ou environ; l'une & l'autre sont au fait de l'éducation des jeunes

name is reproduced here as it appeared in the original newspaper text.

⁴³ D. Godineau, *Citoyennes Tricoteuses. Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Aix-en-Provence, 1988), p. 70

⁴⁴ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 8 germinal an VI (28 March 1798), p. 47. The woman's surname is italicised in the text.

personnes par un long usage, & l'une d'elles a eu cet emploi plusieurs années dans la communauté des filles de St. Thomas à Paris. Leur but est de former le coeur de leurs élèves [sic] à la connoissance pratique de la religion: ce qui comprend tous les devoirs. A cet article essentiel on ajoutera tout ce qu'il est nécessaire d'apprendre: l'Ecriture & la Grammaire, l'Arithmétique, la Géographie, l'Histoire & les ouvrages relatifs à leur sexe.⁴⁵

The girls who attended this school would be taught everything which a member of their sex could be expected to know or do. In addition to writing, grammar and arithmetic they would learn geography, history and 'the tasks relevant to their sex'. The latter, rather vaguely expressed category would have included such skills as sewing, spinning, embroidery and perhaps dancing, music and etiquette. Considering that between 1786 and 1789 sixty-four per cent of Lyon's male inhabitants and thirty-nine per cent of its female inhabitants signed their marriage contracts⁴⁶, it was an increasingly literate city in which illiterate people would henceforth be more and more marginalised.

A possible example of the type of school which older wealthy middle-class girls as well as their younger counterparts would have attended is given by another advertisement in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône*, though this one appeared the year before Revin and Gaudichau placed theirs.

Les dames Brunel, rue St. Dominique, maison Moignat, N^o. 65,
au 4^e à Lyon, établissent un pensionnat pour l'éducation des jeunes
Demoiselles, leur enseignent l'écriture, la grammaire, & toutes sortes
d'ouvrages. Elles sont dans une belle position, & en bon air.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 23 floréal an V (12 May 1797), p. 180.

⁴⁶ Chartier, Compère and Julia, *L'Éducation en France du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 93 and c.f. chapter one, p. 21.

⁴⁷ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 18 thermidor an IV (5 Aug. 1796), p. (81). The address was printed in italics in the original advertisement, in order to draw attention to it.

The curriculum offered by the Brunel sisters (though they might have been mother and daughter) was phrased in fairly imprecise terms, comprising writing, grammar and ‘all kinds of tasks [/ skills]’ yet it was not entirely dissimilar to the range of subjects taught in Citoyenne Revin’s and Citoyenne Gaudichau’s establishment. Several years previously, *moyen bourgeois* girls in Lyon above the age of ten would have been students of Citoyenne Lochbiller.

La citoyenne veuve Lochbiller, demeurant près le pont
d’Oulin, desireroit avoir des jeunes demoiselles pour leur éducation
au-dessus de l’âge de 10 ans, dont elle aura tous les soins
convenables ⁴⁸

There is no indication here of which subjects this *citoyenne* intends to teach her pupils, though a reworded version of this announcement in a later issue of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* mentions writing and arithmetic masters ⁴⁹.

Schools for girls which made a broad curriculum available to their pupils were not confined to Lyon, though. An extensive range of subjects were taught in a school in Rennes which was advertised in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* in 1792.

Madame rozelly, rue royale à rennes, tient une pension pour
l’instruction & l’éducation des jeunes demoiselles. L’on trouvera
dans cette pension tous les maîtres & maîtresses que l’on peut desirer,
tel que maître de musique vocale & instrumentale; maître de dessin,
de danse, d’écriture, de géographie & d’histoire; maîtresse à faire de
la dentelle, à coudre, enfin, tout ce qui est nécessaire à une parfaite
éducation. Madame rozelly fournira les instrumens nécessaires à ses
pensionnaires. L’on ne recevra pas de jeunes personnes au-dessous de

⁴⁸ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 12 janvier 1793, p. 40.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 15 février 1793, p. 148.

six ans.⁵⁰

Of all the scholastic announcements quoted in this chapter, this one is the most explicit about which subjects are included in the curriculum offered by the school being advertised. Instead of using ill-defined phrases referring to ‘all manner of things’, Madame Rozelly declares unambiguously that her students, who must be aged at least six, will learn music, drawing, writing, sewing, dancing, lace-making, history and geography.

Women did not just advertise for a job in the pages of the Revolutionary provincial newspaper press, they also sold and manufactured a wide range of commodities. Access to the periodical press could be advantageous to them in their commercial ventures because that press facilitated an important expansion of the scope of the marketplace in eighteenth-century France, first in the form of the pre-Revolutionary provincial *Affiches* and later in the small advertisements columns of local newspapers, which continued advertising function of the *Affiches*. These columns were usually entitled “Demandes”, “Annonces” or “Annonces Particulières”. People who had personal items which they wished to sell, shopkeepers and manufacturers were all able to reach a much wider audience via the printed page than they had been able to by word of mouth. Of course, posters and handbills had been available for years, but the advantage of a newspaper was that relatively large numbers of people could obtain the information it contained, either by purchasing a copy and perusing it at their leisure or by reading someone else’s copy or even by hearing another person read a copy aloud, thereby increasing the chances of someone remembering a particular advertisement. As a result, a marketplace was created on the printed page in which customer and tradesman or tradeswoman could meet at one remove from each other. It ought not to be assumed, however, that this progression towards an increasingly consumerist society was steady, sure and uninterrupted. None of the commercial advertisements relating to women which are quoted in this chapter and which originate from Rennes are dated 1790-93. There is a paucity

⁵⁰ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 20

of such material in the local newspaper of that time. In Rennes the consumer-oriented economy was not so developed that it could not be overtaken in importance by news of the revolutionary contemporary political events in Paris.

The commodities which French provincial women sold during the Revolution included medical and health products for example tooth-cleaning preparations and various restorative and curative tonics. In addition they were involved in the late-eighteenth-century drive to educate the population on medical matters. This is to say that they joined courses on such subjects as the care of children and pregnant women; the notices in journals relating to these topics are examined in chapter five⁵¹. Good health and its concomitant, physical beauty had become commodities to be marketed like any other. For women in the 1790s it was not enough to have fashionable garments to wear. In order to be regarded as attractive and desirable, they had to enhance the aforementioned garments with a pleasing facial and corporeal appearance. This yearning for attractive bodies had existed in earlier decades and centuries but was intensified in the eighteenth century by the joint factors of slowly increasing scientific knowledge, the Rousseauan advocacy of nature and good health, which resulted from the *philosophe*'s belief that 'Un corps débile affaiblit l'âme.'⁵² and the wide variety of medical or pseudo-medical products which were advertised in the pages of the provincial *Affiches* in the years prior to the Revolution⁵³.

The concept of health as it relates to physical beauty is present in an advertisement placed by a Lyon woman. The problem which the advertised remedy, called 'Préservatif, & remede [sic] contre les Angelures [sic]' claims to cure is chilblains.

C'est une eau composée, qui les empêche de se former, qui
en détruit l'inflammation, & les fait dessécher, pourvu qu'elles ne

septembre 1792, p. 592.

⁵¹ C.f. chapter five, pp. 193-94, 197-99.

⁵² Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 58.

⁵³ On the subject of the advertising of medical goods, see C. Jones, "The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution", *The American Historical Review*, 101, no. 1 (1996), pp. 13-40.

soient pas ouvertes. Prix de la bouteille, 24 sous. Le dépôt est chez

la dame Marguery, place du Gouvernement, n. [sic] 3.⁵⁴

Dame Marguery does not manufacture the medical product which she sells. She is instead the local agent from whom it can be bought. Skin blemishes such as chilblains might be perceived as being as unhealthy as rotting teeth and are potentially as disfiguring, particularly if they occur on the hands rather than the feet. Use of Dame Marguery's anti-chilblain compound will, so she herself asserts, either prevent the sores forming at all or will reduce the inflammation and dry up the lump. Therefore, a woman involved in the marketing of medical goods is offering all those who buy her remedy a means of maintaining their physical allure through being healthy.

This anti-chilblain compound would not have been available to all sections of the population, though. Its price per bottle of unspecified size, twenty-four *sous* resulted in it being too expensive a commodity for some people to afford at a time when the cost of living was rising and so food was absorbing an increasing proportion of workers' wages and of the income of *bourgeois* professionals and entrepreneurs. In Paris in late 1791 sugar, itself something of a luxury, cost between twenty-two and twenty-five *sous*⁵⁵ a pound so Dame Marguery's product was the preserve of those who had money to spare, in other words the *bourgeoisie* and perhaps a handful of the most affluent artisans.

There were other women as well as Dame Marguery who sold medical products in Lyon in the 1790s. The following advertisement dates from 1793, demonstrating that as with other commodities, the market for such goods in that city was not completely destroyed during the politically and economically troubled period of the Terror. The female advertiser was attempting to set herself up in the pharmaceutical retail business and announced in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*: 'La citoyenne Garcin, ci-devant à la pharmacie de la Déserte.

⁵⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 25 novembre 1791, p. 4.

⁵⁵ F. Aftalion, *The French Revolution: An Economic Perspective* (trans. Martin Thom), (Cambridge, 1990), p. 110.

continue de vendre l'Eau d'Arquebusade, rue Vieille-monnoie, n°. 51, au premier étage.'⁵⁶

Citoyenne Garcin evidently wished to ensure that she reached as many people as possible with the news that she had left the chemist's where she had been employed and was now selling a proprietary brand of medicinal water from her own premises, since the advert also appeared in the supplement to two other issues of the newspaper concerned.

Another entrepreneur who realised the potential of the market for medical / beauty preparations was a former nun from the Lyon area. She manufactured her product but sold it wholesale to a retailer rather than selling it directly to the public herself and therefore this particular notice was probably placed by the retailer, Citoyen Clémentin, rather than by Citoyenne Ferrand, though of course she was mentioned in the advertisement as the manufacturer of the commodity being publicised.

Eau pour les dents, de la composition de la citoyenne Ferrand,
ci-devant religieuse et pharmacienne de Ste. Claire; elle a la propriété
de conserver les dents, de les blanchir, d'en faire tomber le tartre, d'en
guérir les douleurs, et d'ôter la mauvaise odeur de la bouche. Les fioles
se vendent 3 liv. et se trouvent chez le citoyen Clémentin, au coin de la
rue la Cage et de place des Terreaux.⁵⁷

Tooth problems will apparently be eliminated by this water which, amongst other things, removes tartar, whitens teeth and sweetens the breath. Its formula has been developed by Citoyenne Ferrand, whose medical credentials come from the fact that, as her advertisement announces, she was once a pharmacist in the convent of St. Claire.

However, if in practice there was no bar to women selling or manufacturing tonics and medicines, in theory such activity induced a clash of ideas about women's position in society. If Colin Jones is correct in arguing that according to the various provincial *Affiches* in the

⁵⁶ Supplement to *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 28 frimaire an II (18 Dec. 1793), p. 168.

⁵⁷ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 13 mars 1793, p. 216.

decades immediately prior to the Revolution, those who were involved in providing medical services to the population were regarded as the ultimate patriots⁵⁸, then where does that leave Citoyennes Garcin and Ferrand and Dame Marguery ? The same men who produced the *Affiches* and who were thus part of the growing belief in the citizenship of all men were often prominent in local politics and the periodical press during the Revolution and for them, women were incapable of being full citizens or patriots due to their sex. Yet women existed as actresses on the commercial stage and their contribution to the ongoing development of networks to supply consumers of medicinal and cosmetic products should not be ignored.

As illustrated in chapter one⁵⁹, there was an increasing market for all kinds of printed matter in eighteenth-century France. The possession of books had spread to an ever wider cross-section of the French population, with the educated, wealthier members of society in some cases owning an impressive collection of volumes. Two female inhabitants of Rennes and one in Lyon tapped into this expanding market during the Revolution. The women in Rennes sold books whereas the one in Lyon specialised in newspapers. The first of the female booksellers in Rennes was Citoyenne Corbigny. She publicised her new stock in an issue of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* which appeared in September 1798. (In this title, most of the features written by or referring to women which were researched for this thesis occur in the first two years of the newspaper's career.)

Tableaux historiques des campagnes et des révolutions d'Italie,
pendant les années 4, 5 et 6 de l'ère républicaine, composés de vingt-quatre
gravures, exécutées par les premiers artistes de Paris, et d'autant de discours
rédigés par un des auteurs des tableaux de la révolution Française. --- Impression
de *Didot*, aîné. Les gravures auront trente-cinq centimètres de largeur,

⁵⁸ Jones, "The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution", p. 34.

⁵⁹ C.f. chapter one, pp. 18-19.

vingt-cinq centimètres de hauteurs. --- S'adresser, pour les prospectus et souscriptions, chez la citoyenne *Corbigny*, rue de l'Egalité, n^o. 6, et chez le citoyen *Froust*, libraire, rue de la Convention.⁶⁰

She was not the only woman dealing in books in Rennes in the late 1790s, as demonstrated by another advertisement in the same newspaper at about the same date: 'La citoyenne *Desprez*, demeurant rue de l'Egalité, n^o. 9, propose son fond de librairie, consistant en livres d'histoires, instructions, et autres de différentes espèces; papier, plumes et parchemin, au meilleur accommodement possible.'⁶¹ In this instance as in most of the others which are quoted in this chapter, two advertisements concerning similar or identical products are published in a newspaper within a short time of each other, presumably due to commercial rivalry and the resulting desire and need of a person who sells a particular commodity to go to press with details of their wares as quickly as possible after a rival's advertisement has appeared.

The examples of Citoyennes Corbigny and Desprez illustrate how the book trade in rural and urban France had been altered by the Revolution. Under the *ancien régime*, the peasant inhabitants of an area such as Brittany often purchased books from itinerant pedlars, who sold the *Bibliothèque bleue*. As Roger Chartier argues, these pedlars usually carried large stocks of books and travelled by horse and cart. Urban dwellers could buy from pedlars who sold their wares from boxes on their backs or they could turn to one of the underground booksellers who dealt in illegal works. These booksellers obtained their stocks from publishing houses like the Société typographique de Neuchâtel which published seditious and pornographic books and also titles which had a *privilege* in France, and also from publishing houses in Geneva, Berne, Amsterdam, Berlin and Rome amongst other foreign cities⁶². By contrast, as a result of the establishment of the freedom of the press in 1789 and the

⁶⁰ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 18 fructidor an VI (4 Sept. 1798), p. 1008. In this quotation and the succeeding one, the names in italics are reproduced as they appeared in the newspaper.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 18 thermidor an VI (5 Aug. 1798), p. 828.

⁶² R. Chartier, *Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 162, Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime*, p. 122 ff. and J. Quénart, "L'anémie provinciale", in Martin, Chartier and Vivet (eds.), *Histoire de l'Édition Française*: tome II, *Le livre triomphant 1660-1830*, pp. 282-93, p. 283.

abolition of literary privilege in 1789 and 1791, Corbigny and Desprez operated within the law and so could advertise in the periodical press. They also had fixed addresses from which to conduct their businesses.

The two women's respective announcements are comparable in that they both mention history books being for sale, but in most other respects they are rather different. Firstly, Citoyenne Corbigny retailed books only, whereas Citoyenne Desprez was a stationer as well as a bookseller, selling paper, parchment and pens. Since Citoyenne Corbigny's advertisement was longer than the other woman's, she is able to go into more detail about what she is selling. Thus she informs potential buyers of the tome which she is offering currently, that it is a history of the Italian campaigns and also that it consists of twenty-four engravings by top Parisian artists and an equal number of discussions of the subject. There is a contrast between this book on republican military history and the religious works which, despite the overall decline in the demand for religious titles in the eighteenth century, had nevertheless formed a large part of the stock of Pierre Héron, a provincial bookseller in Langres in the 1750s and 1760s. Héron ordered 1,200 copies of the almanac *Dieu-soit-béni* in 1772 and about five hundred copies of psalters each year that he was in business⁶³ and he must have thought that he could sell that number of those works. Perhaps the most significant difference between the two women's advertisements, though, is that Citoyenne Desprez is obviously an entrepreneur in her own right, since she states that she is advertising the stock of her bookshop, which means that she is a bookseller. Citoyenne Corbigny, on the other hand, does not define her occupation and she is not the sole agent for the book mentioned in the notice --- customers can also apply to Citoyen Froust, who is identified specifically as a bookseller.

Of course not all of those who read books or other forms of literature were in a position to purchase the works they examined. This furnished an opportunity for entrepreneurs like Dame Meynard in Lyon to establish reading rooms or *cabinets de lecture*.

⁶³ Quénart, "L'anémie provinciale", p. 287.

La dame Meynard vient d'ouvrir en cette ville, place de l'Herberie, au premier étage de la maison faisant l'angle de ladite place de l'Herberie, & de la rue Mal-pertuis, n.º 71, une salle pour la lecture des principaux journaux de France & de l'étranger, tels que le *Moniteur*, la *gazette Universelle*, la *Chronique de Paris*, les *Annales patriotiques*, par le Mercier, les journaux de *Prudhomme de Paris*, & de *Carrier, de Lyon*, le *Surveillant*, le *journal général de France*, le *Mercure de France*, la *Gazetter de France*, &c., &c.; enfin, de plusieurs autres journaux qu'elle se procurera à mesure d'augmentation des abonnés.

La salle est vaste, bien chauffée, éclairée, & propre; il y a une piece [sic] séparée où les abonnés pourront prendre le café, le chocolat, &c.⁶⁴

The appearance of this announcement in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* is hardly surprising considering that Dame Meynard includes that newspaper (along with its editor, Citoyen Carrier's other publications) in the range of titles which will be available in her reading room. The variety of newspapers which she proposes is impressive, covering foreign as well as French publications and every conceivable physical comfort is provided in the space where her clientele will indulge themselves in the activity of reading. As far as Dame Meynard is concerned, reading is a sensuous, pleasurable pastime. It ought therefore to be conducted in a warm, light room with refreshments close at hand. The luxurious surroundings which Dame Meynard provided for her clients form part of the contemporary European-wide phenomenon of reading in comfort. Paintings by Jean-Baptiste Chardin illustrate this trend, depicting readers seated in high-backed armchairs with thick cushions, their feet resting on footstools. Readers could also relax on a chaise longue if they wished to be as comfortable as possible⁶⁵. Reading has become a pleasurable pastime as well as an educational experience. Dame

⁶⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 7 / 10 octobre, 1791, p. 4. The titles of the journals available in Dame Meynard's reading room were in italics in the original advertisement.

⁶⁵ Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing", p. 145.

Meynard was not the only woman running a reading room in Revolutionary France --- the bookseller Bizette opened a *cabinet de lecture* in Vannes in the 1790s which stocked the major journals, but he left its day-to-day operation to his daughter-in-law, who was named Jeanne Mahé ⁶⁶.

As well as running a reading room, late-eighteenth-century female entrepreneurs might hold auctions and in Rennes at the very end of the eighteenth century, there were several women auctioneers, for example Citoyenne Vaillant: ‘ La citoyenne Vaillant prévient le public qu’elle vendra toutes sortes de meubles et ustensiles tous les jours, à l’encan, sur la place des Jeunes-Malouins, comme le faisait la citoyenne St.-Jean, rue Jean-Jacques. ’⁶⁷ This notice appeared in the *Journal du Dép. d’Ille*, as did the following advertisement.

La citoyenne Mejasson, de Rennes, marchande de meubles, demeurant rue Francklin, N°. 7, prévient ses concitoyens qu’elle tiendra l’encan que tenait la citoyenne Saint-Jean. Elle se chargera des effets des personnes qui lui donneront leur confiance, et les vendra au plus offrant, moyennant une remise de cinq pour cent sur le prix des objets vendus. Elle se chargera de payer les droits de timbre.⁶⁸

Clearly, there was an active network of female auctioneers in Revolutionary Rennes, because both Vaillant and Mejasson mention a certain Citoyenne St. Jean, who is described by Mejasson as having held formerly the auction which Citoyenne Mejasson herself will hold henceforth. The implication here is that St. Jean and Mejasson had been in communication with each other and the former had agreed to let the latter take over her business. For her part, Citoyenne Vaillant (whose advertisement, incidentally, was the second of the two to appear), writes that she will be selling all kinds of furniture and implements by auction, as Citoyenne St.

⁶⁶ Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution*, p. 217.

⁶⁷ *Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine*, 16 prairial an VII (4 June 1799), p. 12.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 10 prairial an VII (29 May 1799), p. 12.

Jean used to do. One wonders what had happened to St. Jean that had resulted in her turning her 'patch' over to another woman.

It could be argued that these women, at least Citoyenne Mejasson, fulfilled other functions besides that of auctioneer. In her advertisement Mejasson says that people can give her their possessions which she will then to the highest bidder, deducting from the selling price her fee of five per cent. Thus someone could raise cash by offering personal goods for auction and Citoyenne Mejasson can be viewed as a broker of sorts. This would have been a significant role in the life of the local community, particularly the periods of cyclical economic depression which were a feature of eighteenth-century France and which saw women and children forced to beg on the streets whilst their male relatives became migrant labourers⁶⁹.

Apart from the multiple instances of advertisements relating to women selling medicinal products or books or goods at auction, there are also several miscellaneous announcements in the provincial journals researched for this thesis which show women running businesses such as a lottery agency or selling hand-painted miniatures. The latter were sold by a Citoyenne Pillot and in her case the newspaper announcement not only publicises her wares but also, because she is a travelling artist, communicates her wish to inform all who have seen instances of her work that she will soon be residing in Lyon for a period of time.

La citoyenne femme Pillot, connue par la ressemblance de ses
Miniatures, prévient les personnes qui ont vu de ses ouvrages, qu'elle
séjournera quelque temps dans cette ville, où elle continuera de faire, comme
à Paris, des Portraits de profil, soit en camée, soit coloriés, en un quart-d'heure
de séance, pour 15 livres, et des portraits de trois-quarts, en trois séances,
pour 60 liv.

⁶⁹ See Hufton, *The Poor in Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789* for an examination of vagrancy and begging.

Elle est logée à l'Hôtel des Soeurs FOREY, en face de la porte

*St. Clair.*⁷⁰

Citoyenne Pillot is a portrait painter whose speciality is miniatures. As such this advertisement represents a Revolutionary descendant of the notices promoting female painters (and also female sculptors, engravers and clock-makers) which were published by Madame de Beaumer when she was editor of the *Journal des Dames*⁷¹ She claims that she is renowned for the accurate likeness of her paintings. Perhaps part of the apparent popularity of her cameo and coloured portraits was due to the fact that like Citoyen Foucault the draper and fancy goods merchant cited whose advertisement is quoted in chapter five, Citoyenne Pillot hailed from Paris. The advertisement mentions that she either had been or was at that moment working in Paris and if she normally plied her trade in the French capital, her portraits would have acquired fashionable status in a provincial centre, even a major one such as Lyon. In this way Citoyenne Pillot's miniatures constituted part of the dazzling variety of 'populuxe' goods available to the population of late-eighteenth-century France. Other examples of populuxe commodities included fans, parasols, gloves and snuffboxes⁷². Members of all but the very lowest social strata were able to afford these goods, as shown by the prices of Citoyenne Pillot's portraits. A profile in cameo or one which was coloured cost fifteen *livres* which means that it would have represented a special purchase for a wealthy artisan or a *petit bourgeois* but nevertheless something which they could aspire to owning. A more affluent member of the middle classes on the other hand would have been able to afford this less expensive type of portrait more easily and the three-quarter face portraits which cost sixty *livres* would have been the *moyen* or *haut bourgeois* equivalent of the profile portraits for the poorer sections of the population.

⁷⁰ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 24 mars 1793, p. 244. The words in italics and the name in capital letters are emphasised in the original advertisement.

⁷¹ Gelbart, "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press", p. 35.

⁷² See C. Fairchild, "The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris" in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), pp. 228-48.

The phrasing and spelling used in Citoyenne Pillot's advertisement is significant because it highlights the product being publicised, that is miniature portraits, by printing the words 'miniature' and 'portrait' with capital letters. Readers can therefore spot at a glance the central feature of the message. It could of course be argued that the insertion of these capital letters was nothing more than a coincidence but it is interesting that no other words except for proper nouns are given this treatment. As a result it would seem that there was a strategy involved in using upper case characters for certain words only. In addition, the verb 'prévenir' is again employed in the announcement as a means of urging the public to give Citoyenne Pillot their custom, without appearing to put pressure on anyone.

If women sold luxury products which they personally had manufactured, for example jewellery or ornamental objects and those products proved to be popular with the individuals who purchased them, then the word would inevitably be passed around that the female in question was a craftswoman worth patronising. As a result the general public might well have heard about them from friends and neighbours and their reputations would therefore precede them when they advertised in newspapers. Oral publicity of this kind was especially valuable to itinerant traders or artisans such as Citoyenne Pillot but nevertheless a newspaper advert enabled them to reach large numbers of potential new customers quickly.

Another commercial advertisement in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* came from a woman native to the city:

Plaques en fonte pour cheminées de différentes grandeurs, à 10 liv. le quintal & trois romaines avec leurs grilles à peser le fer savoir: une de douze cent cinquante livres à aiguille plate, une de mille cinquante livres à aiguille ronde, une de sept cent cinquante livres à aiguille plate avec son chassis.

*S'adresser à la veuve Clerc rue Henry, n.^o 45.*⁷³

⁷³ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 20 août 1791, p. 4. The italicised address is reproduced as it appears in the original text.

This woman was selling cast-iron hearth slabs and steelyards with a variety of needles to the general public. She was a widow and thus would have needed to earn her living after the death of her husband, which would have signalled the end of their joint earning power and as a result may well have occasioned the collapse of the marital economy. One eighteenth-century Lyonnaise was left with goods worth a mere twelve livres when her master silk-weaver husband died ⁷⁴. Widow Clerc who sold the hearth-slabs was not the only widow who advertised her services or wares in the Revolutionary provincial newspaper press, as illustrated by the example of Citoyenne Vignon below and this is likely to be the consequence of the large numbers of widows in eighteenth-century France, a situation caused by the high probability of widowhood for a woman who survived childbirth on three or four occasions⁷⁵.

As well as being retailers on an individual basis, women in France in the 1790s sometimes went into business with a partner, perhaps a relative. In Rennes, for instance, just before the turn of the nineteenth century two sisters announced that they had established themselves as the local recipients of national lottery monies:

Les citoyennes *Guichard*, soeurs, Receveurs de la loterie nationale, à Rennes, préviennent leurs concitoyens qu'elles ont ouvert leur bureau, le 4 pluviôse, à l'encoignure de la place de l'Egalité et de la place neuve, maison du citoyen Picot, à l'entresol, depuis neuf heures jusqu'à une heure après-midi, et depuis trois jusqu'à six heures du soir.⁷⁶

The sisters' office was situated on the mezzanine in the premises of Citoyen Picot, indicating that the business did not as yet have sufficient capital to purchase its own property.

Why had they become agents for the lottery in the first place? Though no men are mentioned anywhere in the advertisement it is possible that they were setting themselves up in business in order to supplement their respective family economies. Yet if that was indeed the

⁷⁴ Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*, p. 115.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

⁷⁶ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 6 pluviôse an VI (25 Jan. 1798), p. 1604. The name 'Guichard'

case, it is curious that their husbands are not named as being involved with the venture, especially if the men in question were themselves known in Rennes as artisans or businessmen. The Guichard sisters were perhaps both unmarried, though an equally reasonable scenario is that their husbands had been in the Revolutionary armies and had died at the front, thus making them war widows. Alternatively, their husbands might still have been alive and away fighting although, since Olwen Hufton has argued that any woman whose husband enlisted in the army was effectively abandoned, their economic situation would not have been any better for that⁷⁷. In any event, the sisters had to fend for themselves when it came to money and employment as recipients for the national lottery was their means of accomplishing this. The lottery agency either represented a business which one of the sisters' husbands had run and which they had taken over, or an enterprise founded by the sisters themselves. As Olwen Hufton has demonstrated, the task of earning a living by running a commercial enterprise was difficult for eighteenth-century French widows since they had to compensate for the loss of their husband's labour and this normally involved hiring an assistant to whom wages had to be paid, thereby reducing the profits of the business. On the other hand, however, widows were able to take on the management of most types of shop and the Guichard sisters' lottery agency fits into that pattern⁷⁸.

Assuming responsibility for the running of a late husband's shop was perhaps the reason why the following notice appeared in the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* at around the same time as the Guichards' advertisement. 'La citoyenne *Vignon* et son fils préviennent leurs concitoyens qu'ils n'ont pas quitté l'état de confiseur, comme on l'a débité à Rennes, et qu'ils tiennent de plus la partie des liqueurs et de l'épicerie.'⁷⁹ Here, mother and son are business partners, selling confectionery, grocery items and liqueurs. Though they might have

is reproduced as it appears in the newspaper.

⁷⁷ Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*, p. 115.

⁷⁸ Idem., "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of Family History*, 9, no. 4 (1984), pp. 355-76, pp. 364-65.

⁷⁹ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 22 pluviôse an VI (10 Feb. 1798), p. 1700. The name '*Vignon*' is italicised in the newspaper text.

established themselves as retailers after the death of a husband and father who had made his money in a completely different line of work, being a confectioner implies a certain level of expertise and experience and the skills involved were often handed down through the generations of a family. In addition a male confectioner would teach his wife the rudiments of his trade. Thus it would be a natural development for a dead man's spouse and son to carry on the family business. It is interesting that in their announcement Citoyenne Vignon and her son state that they are **still** trading as confectioners, which suggests that there has been some interruption of their business. The break in question was perhaps a death in the family, in other words that of the father. Also, both this advertisement and that placed by the Guichard sisters use the same formula --- potential customers are 'advised that' a new shop is opening or that an old one remains in existence. Trade, hopefully, is therefore drummed up without recourse to overt pressure tactics.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in every issue extant of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* there was a section of matrimonial advertisements in which men and women attempted to find themselves wives or husbands⁸⁰ and therefore the following quotes are taken from notices which were very different to the employment and commercial announcements discussed above and which do not appear to have any established, regularly occurring equivalent in the pre-Revolutionary periodical press. The evidence from these advertisements suggests that new, romantic attitudes to marriage probably coexisted alongside older, economic ones in the 1790s. In an issue of the *Courrier* from March 1791, among the advertisements was one from a young woman with very definite ideas about what her prospective husband should be able to offer her.

Une demoiselle de 27 ans, qui est à la tête d'un magasin
de modes, desireroit épouser un howme [sic] de 30 ans, qui
eut [sic] 15000 liv. comptant, qui seroient employés à payer

⁸⁰ C.f. chapter two, p. 80.

partie du fonds qu'elle va prendre.⁸¹

This woman frames her proposal of marriage in terms of business and financial considerations rather than in terms of emotional satisfaction. She has a good job in a fashion shop and wants to improve on this economic position when she marries. Her husband will have to be able to bring ready cash to the marriage, which is an ironic inversion of the traditional system of women bringing dowries to their new husbands.

Therefore, this woman's apparent view of marriage is in sharp contrast to the contemporary fashion for romantic love within the marital bond. She was part of the growing female wage-labour force in France in the eighteenth century and one of those young women who had found work as a salesgirl in a fashionable boutique due to the expansion of the clothing industry⁸². However, it ought not to be assumed that because she is precise about the wealth which her future husband ought to possess, ideas of romantic love were absent from this woman's concept of marriage. For the majority of the population in France in the early 1790s, economic survival was an important fact of life and contemporary marriages had to survive financially. It was a question of allying the idealistic and romantic and the practical. Also, since *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was a middle-class newspaper and the young woman was wanting her prospective husband to have 15,000 *livres* in cash at his disposal at a time when the average annual wage of a skilled worker in Paris was between 3,000 and 5,000 *livres*, then it is likely that either she was a *moyenne bourgeoisie* herself or that she was lower-middle class but aspired to join the *moyenne bourgeoisie*. The desire to rise in society or at least to maintain one's socio-economic position still existed in Revolutionary France and was not inherently incompatible with Rousseauist theories about marital love and companionship.

Of course it is possible that this woman intended to run the business jointly with her husband, whoever he was. Such ventures were not uncommon at this time, as Louis-Sébastien

⁸¹ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 3 mars 1791, p. 13.

⁸² E. Fox-Genovese, "Women and Work" in S. I. Spencer (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 111-27, pp. 120, 122.

Mercier noted in his *Tableau de Paris* which was written just before the Revolution.

Describing the wives of artisans and small merchants, he wrote

Elles travaillent de concert avec les hommes, & s'en trouvent
bien; car elles manient toujours un peu d'argent. C'est une
parfaite égalité de fonctions; le ménage en va mieux. La femme
est l'ame d'une boutique;⁸³

Although in this case it was the woman who was proposing to set herself up in business and her husband would be assisting, in effect their roles would be the same as those outlined by Mercier.

The following matrimonial advert in the *Courrier*, again from March 1791 was in the form of a letter rather than a notice in the "Demandes" column which was dedicated to announcements from those wanting a spouse. The woman who placed it was likely, where radical male Revolutionaries were concerned, to have brought on herself Fénelon's criticism that women of an inquiring turn of mind 'can never but half know anything.'⁸⁴ She was seeking a husband but was not prepared to allow her heart to rule her head. The context of the letter is that in the first issue of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* there had appeared a matrimonial advertisement from a man who was a *député* to the Assemblée Nationale. He described himself as an 'Américain' but Evelyne Sullerot thinks that actually he came from the Antilles⁸⁵. This man was a slave-owner but one who prided himself on never having molested his female slaves⁸⁶. None of this impressed the woman whose epistolary advertisement for a husband was printed three issues later. Having stated that she desired her prospective spouse to be neither younger than her nor too much older, that she would prefer him to have been, like

⁸³ L.-S. Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris* (12 vols., Amsterdam, 1788), Tome IX, p. 173.

⁸⁴ F. de S. de la Mothe-Fénelon, "Advice to a Lady of Quality, Concerning the Education of her Daughter" in H. C. Barnard, *Fénelon on Education* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 97-107, p. 101.

⁸⁵ E. Sullerot, *Histoire de la presse féminine en France, des origines à 1848* (Paris, 1966), p. 57.

⁸⁶ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 20 février 1791, p. 1.

herself, the victim of a long-standing and unjust partiality and that she was not bothered if he was not wealthy, she went on to say:

Je vous déclare cependant que je ne veux pas d'un américai [sic]
fût-il député impartial, et eût-il à lui seul les 660 mille infortunés, qui
payent de leur liberté et de leur sang les plaisirs et l'opulence de 40 mille
européens. Je hais les tyrans et les bourreaux.⁸⁷

She is not willing to sacrifice her principles merely in order to get married. Moreover, her contempt for men such as the colonial *député* and for slavery is unequivocal.

Such hatred of slavery links her to radical women like Olympe de Gouges, who wrote a play entitled *L'Esclavage des Noirs* which attacked the institution of slavery⁸⁸. Like Olympe, this woman is not afraid to speak on matters about which women were not supposed to express opinions, since these topics related to the theoretically and actually male world of law and politics. Her case functions as an illustration of how it is impossible to generalise about Revolutionary women's ideas about marriage and the society in which they lived. Her reasons for marriage were not necessarily entirely idealistic, though. For instance, elsewhere in her letter she asserts that a man's fortune does not matter to her but then adds that she has enough money for them both. It is not that money is absent from her thinking when it comes to marriage, just that she possesses wealth in her own right and does not need to marry it. Therefore, this point raises the issue of class. If her thoughts were rather romantic and idealistic, perhaps it was because she felt that she could afford them to be so. She was a member of the *bourgeoisie* and secure financially. By contrast, women from less wealthy backgrounds needed to marry in order to maximise their income and also to protect them from destitution in old age. The problem was that wages in many female occupations, for example spinning in the Pays de Caux, were lower than male wages in similar occupations and thus

⁸⁷ Ibid., 3 mars 1791, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁸ L. Kelly, *Women of the French Revolution* (1987), p. 36.

were insufficient to support an individual but they represented a vital augmentation of the family economy for peasant and artisan families ⁸⁹. As a result, if a lower-class woman married, the extra income which her economic activity brought into the household could be used to provide more food or better clothing for her family. As for old age, an elderly woman who had never married was in a worse position than a widow because she would have no children and less money and would be considered a burden by society. Elderly spinsters thus lived on the margins of society⁹⁰.

The romantic aspect of her reasons for seeking a husband are revealed even more fully by her next comment.

Par la même raison, je ne voudrois pas de celui qui ne chériroit pas de tout son coeur l'heureuse révolution qui a réintégré l'homme dans ses droits, et substitué au régime destructeur du despotisme et de l'oppression, le regne [sic] bienfaisant de la liberté de la patrie et de l'égalité.⁹¹

In an interesting reversal of Rousseau's dictate that every woman ought to have her husband's religion⁹², this woman expects her future husband to share her Revolutionary creed. Again, she is not afraid to express her opinions in the literary public space of a newspaper but it is significant that she supports the Revolution because it has given **man's** rights back to him. There is no mention here of women, although it is probable that she uses 'man' as a generic term meaning humankind --- men and women together. Linguistic convention must not be confused with political belief. As mentioned previously⁹³, Joan W. Scott contends that the male Revolutionaries embodied as a man the theoretically universal, abstract, rights-bearing

⁸⁹ G. L. Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffay. Rural industry and the sexual division of labour in a French village, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 199.

⁹⁰ D. G. Troyansky, *Old Age in the Old Regime. Image and Experience in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 1989), pp. 92-93.

⁹¹ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 3 mars 1791, p.15.

⁹² Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 492.

⁹³ C.f. chapter one, p. 41.

individual and so it is difficult to include women in the category of ‘man’⁹⁴. This means that the French woman could not have declared that the Revolution had restored the rights of ‘people’ or ‘men and women’. The woman who wrote the letter did not possess the same standing in the political public sphere as did men but she could enter the literary public sphere through corresponding with a newspaper describing her ideal marriage partner.

The other matrimonial advertisements which are examined here demonstrate the importance of two factors to the women who placed them when looking for a husband: the size of each partner’s personal fortune and the familial connections of each partner. In addition, the first advertiser was at pains to emphasise that she wished to marry someone who was politically aware.

Une femme veuve âgée de 33 ans, ayant un enfant, & jouissant de cent louis de rentes perpétuelles, sans y comprendre ce qui doit revenir à son enfant; désireroit, pour se marier, rencontrer un homme sans enfans, de 36 à 40 ans, ayant une fortune au moins proportionnée à la sienne, beaucoup de franchise, & d’une opinion fortement prononcée sur les affaires présentes.⁹⁵

This woman presumably stated that she did not want to marry a man who already had children because she wished to protect the interests of her own child by maximising its inheritance. That is to say, if she married a man who was childless his estate might pass to her child. She was also searching for someone who was equal to her in terms of financial situation and this wish that a prospective husband possess a fortune approximately equal to the advertiser’s own is also expressed in the next announcement:

Une demoiselle âgée de 33 ans, demeurante en province, d’une famille très-connue, ayant en dot vingt mille livres comptant, & qui

⁹⁴ J. W. Scott, “French Feminists and the Rights of ‘Man’: Olympe de Gouges’s Declarations”, *History Workshop*, Issue 28, (1989), pp. 1-21, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁵ *Le Courrier de l’Hymen*, 5 mai 1791, p. 88.

peut en espérer autant après le décès de ses père & mère avancés en
 âge; désireroit, pour se marier, rencontrer un jeune homme de 30 à
 36 ans qui ait la même fortune qu'elle & un bon état.⁹⁶

Both of these women were bourgeois and indeed reasonably wealthy, since one had a dowry of twenty thousand livres and the other had an income of one hundred louis in perpetual securities plus the inheritance which would come to her child. Their affluence is highlighted by the dowries amassed by ordinary women, for example domestic servants or women working in the textile industries. Jeanne Michon who was a former *dévideuse* (a reeler or winder of silk) from Lyon, had a dowry of three hundred livres when she married a master silk-weaver whilst a ladies' maid in Toulouse in the 1780s might have accumulated as much as seven hundred livres by the time she married⁹⁷.

The fact that the woman in the second of the two advertisements above and also the woman who placed the final matrimonial advertisement which is quoted in this chapter, lived in the provinces rather than in Paris demonstrates that *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* reached more than merely a Parisian audience. In addition, the woman who wrote the final matrimonial notice quoted here emphasised, as did the woman who placed the second advert cited above, that she was of a good family and was searching for a man with favourable connections.

Une demoiselle bien née, & qui habite en province, âgée de 24
 ans, qui n'a plus ni père ni mère, & jouit de trois mille quatre cents
 livres de revenu annuel, sans y compter quelques prétentions qui ne
 peuvent lui échapper; désireroit, pour se marier, rencontrer un jeune
 homme de 25 à 30 ans, d'une bonne famille, d'un caractère doux &
 sensible & un peu de fortune.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Ibid., 19 mai 1791, p. 103.

⁹⁷ Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*, p. 115 and Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*, p. 83.

⁹⁸ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 5 mai 1791, p. 88.

Again, the common themes which surface in this and other notices are those of the female advertisers themselves having an advantageous familial and financial situation and of the advertisers seeking husbands in a similar position or with a similar background. The final point to note is that all of the women in the last three advertisements stated specifically the ideal age range of their future husbands and these ideal ages were only a few years older than the ages of the women themselves in each case. For instance, the woman whose father and mother had both died was aged twenty-four and her preferred age for her husband was between twenty-five and thirty years old.

Thus the women advertising in Paris in the early 1790s for spouses demonstrated a mixture of traditional and more recent attitudes to marriage. Financial considerations were still present but the Enlightenment's exaltation of romantic love within marriage had also begun to take root. There is however an absence of matrimonial advertisements in the Rennais and Lyonnais newspapers examined in this thesis, whether they date from the early 1790s or from later on in the decade. There are two possible reasons for this in the case of Rennes and one in the case of Lyon. In a rural area like Brittany it may have been the case that smaller communities and closer, more traditional familial links resulted in young people having their marriages arranged or finding marital partners from the pool of their relatives and neighbours. Newspaper adverts were unnecessary. In large cities however, especially in Paris which in 1789 had a population of between 600,000 and 700,000⁹⁹, there were much greater numbers of young single people of both sexes. They would have come from various villages and small towns to find work and would therefore have been strangers to each other. (However, it should be noted that between 1786 and 1788, forty-two per cent of men and forty-seven per cent of women who got married in Lyon came from Lyon or its suburbs¹⁰⁰.) Or, it may have been a phenomenon with regional causes. In other words seeking a spouse by advertising in a

⁹⁹ Godineau, *Citoyennes Tricoteuses. Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ F. Lebrun, *La Vie Conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1975), p. 29.

newspaper was perhaps an established method in the Île-de-Paris but something which was unknown in Rennes and Lyon.

Advertisements in the French provincial press in the 1790s might also contain information about lost property which the owner was hoping to recover. Again, the advantage of newspapers was that they were read or heard about by disparate groups of people and thus more people would know about the lost item than could be contacted personally by the owner of the item. For example, a Rennais woman who had lost a parcel whilst travelling and who hoped to hear from anyone who could reunite her with her property placed a notice in a local newspaper, the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*, in an issue which dates from August 1799. The notice provides an insight into what one French woman in the 1790s had in her wardrobe and it read:

Le 29 thermidor dernier il a été perdu, sur la route de Rennes à Hédé, depuis la Brosse jusques chez la Ve. Bouvier, dans le Bas Champ ou le Tertre, un paquet contenant plusieurs effets à usage de femme, deux chemises, trois paires de bas, cinq caraquots, une jupe noire, une jupe blanche, six mouchoirs d'indienne, une boîte pleine de sigards ¹⁰¹ de tabac; le tout dans quatre serviettes ouvragées: on recompensera ceux qui l'indiqueront, ou le remettront à la citoyenne le Jeune, aubergiste à Hédé. ¹⁰²

This female hotel- or innkeeper, if as it appears the items contained in the package were hers, possessed two shifts, three pairs of stockings, black and white skirts, five blouses and handkerchiefs of printed calico. The embroidered towels in which these garments were wrapped and perhaps the calico handkerchiefs were the only objects which could have been considered luxury commodities though this list is nevertheless than the inventory of the possessions of the poverty-stricken inhabitants of eighteenth-century France, for example a laundress from Bayeux who bequeathed, in terms of clothing and textiles, three old sheets,

¹⁰¹ In the text, the first letter of this word is very unclear.

¹⁰² *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 10 fructidor an VII (27 Aug. 1799), p. 12.

two overdresses and aprons and a coat, two handkerchiefs, one pair of stockings and one pair of shoes¹⁰³. Thus, if Citoyenne Le Jeune was at best an affluent working woman or a *petite bourgeoisie* with a modest wardrobe appropriate to her status, she was nonetheless not living in extreme poverty.

As well as indicating her socio-economic position, the number of shifts, blouses and handkerchiefs which Citoyenne le Jeune possessed illustrate the fact that by the end of the eighteenth century, French women (as well as men), had a considerably greater amount of personal linen or underwear in their wardrobes than at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The advent of materials such as cotton and calico constituted an important part of this process since it meant that items of underwear were less expensive than formerly¹⁰⁴. The increased amount of linen in contemporary French wardrobes is also demonstrated by the inventory of the possessions of an orphaned girl named Anne Julienne, who died aged twenty during the festivities for the marriage of the future Louis XVI in 1770. Anne's list of clothing included cotton stockings, a linen apron, cloth pockets, two underskirts and two handkerchiefs¹⁰⁵ and because her occupation was given in the official record as tailor's employee, her socio-economic status was not too dissimilar to and in fact probably lower than that of Citoyenne le Jeune thirty years later.

Of course, clothing has for centuries represented more than merely a means of covering the body and keeping it warm. Dress can fulfil several functions, those of defining class and wealth, or even that of expressing personal beliefs and ideologies. Moreover, during the French Revolution costume became a political issue with the members of the various new political groups, in particular the Jacobins¹⁰⁶, advocating simplicity in clothing as opposed to

¹⁰³ Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁴ D. Roche, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1989), p. 149 ff; J. M. Jones, "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France", *French Historical Studies*, 18, no. 4 (1994), pp. 939-67, p. 943 and J. G. Coffin, "Gender and the Guild Order: The Garment Trades in Eighteenth-Century Paris", *Journal of Economic History*, 54, no. 4 (1994), pp. 768-93, p. 775.

¹⁰⁵ A. Farge, *Vivre Dans la Rue à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1979), p. 85.

¹⁰⁶ For a fuller examination of the social implications of the Jacobins' attitude to women and clothing see

the ostentation of the *ancien régime* French court and this subject of costume as political symbol is discussed in chapter six ¹⁰⁷. In the early 1790s the styles of dress worn by women in ancient Greece and Rome were lauded as the only ones suitable to adorn the female population of a civilised, liberated nation and this preference for clothing modelled on Classical lines continued under the Directory, despite the fact that textiles and actual garments were increasingly elaborate.

Women were thus a vital force in the local economies of Rennes and Lyon during the French Revolution and thus, by extension, were also important to the national economy. Not only were they part of the new consumer society because they purchased various goods, they had roles to play as retailers and manufacturers, as well. Newspapers allowed female entrepreneurs in Rennes and Lyon to reach simultaneously the members of a much wider section of the local community than had previously been possible. Female entrepreneurs in Rennes and Lyon used printed media to expand their clientele. Without their contribution, local commerce in the cities mentioned would have been less lively and competitive. As for the female advertisers whose announcements related to employment or to lost property or to marriage, they were all taking advantage of the medium of the periodical press to transmit their messages to as many people as possible in as short a time as possible. Such dissemination of information had of course existed before the Revolution in the pages of the commercial *Affiches* but there were some innovations in the 1790s, such as marital advertisements.

chapter six, pp.

¹⁰⁷ C.f. chapter six, pp. 256-63.

Chapter Four.

**WOMEN WRITING NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR,
ESSAYS, POEMS AND PIECES OF FICTION.**

Women did not just contribute advertisements to the Revolutionary provincial and Parisian periodical press, they also used newspapers as a medium through which to communicate their ideas to the local community in various forms. Since literate women had equal access to literate men to the world of the printed word in terms of freedom to submit articles or letters to periodical publications, newspapers functioned as the female equivalent in the literary public sphere of male political associations or municipal councils in the political public sphere. The exact purposes for which women wrote to the journals researched for this thesis, can be divided into three main categories: those of asking the journal's editor for information to answer a question, expressing their thoughts in the form of essays, creative writing or poetry or writing to the editor to complain about or praise something in a previous issue of the newspaper. Alternatively, a woman might address her opinions on current affairs directly to a newspaper editor whose role would thus be that of an intermediary between her and the other members of the local literary public sphere. The subject of education occurs several times in the material quoted in this chapter and another recurring theme is the desire of women who felt they had been misrepresented in the press to put the record straight. Perhaps the most significant aspect of these examples of articles penned by women is the comparisons and contrasts which can be made between the ways in which the female sex is portrayed in them and the picture of women presented by the reports in chapter six.

In the second half of the 1790s in Brittany, the problems of the Catholic Royalist rebels resulted in women writing letters to the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* in their capacity as wives or perhaps daughters acting in support of their male relatives. In vendémiaire an VI (October 1797) the "Variétés" feature in the above newspaper was subtitled "Des ex-chouans, non rayés

definitivement de la liste des émigrés.” . The writer of this feature tried to answer the questions of an anonymous woman who had written to the newspaper concerning the subject of former Catholic rebels or *chouans* who had not been crossed off the list of *émigrés* conclusively.

Encore une lettre anonyme, à laquelle on me prie de répondre
par la voie de ce Journal. C'est *la femme* ou *la fille* d'un ex-chouan,
laquelle desire savoir ce que doivent espérer les émigrés rentré pendant
la chouannerie, et qui sont demeurés [sic] en France depuis la pacification.
Seront-ils considérés comme *ex chouans simplement*, ou seront-ils
considérés comme *émigrés* ? ¹

The female correspondent could in fact be the wife or the daughter of the man concerned. The problem was that some *émigrés* had returned to Brittany during the most intense period of Catholic rebellion and had not left France once more when peace was restored. The implication is that they had been involved in the said rebellion. It was vital for them and for their dependants to know whether or not they would be removed from the list of *émigrés* for good and therefore be regarded purely as former Royalist rebels. This was because under Revolutionary law the properties of *émigrés* had been declared forfeit to the nation. The only way for an *émigré's* family to protect his property was for his wife to divorce him and obtain a property settlement². Therefore, if the woman who wrote this letter was someone's wife, she would have been wanting to know if her husband was to be regarded as an *émigré* for legal purposes since it would then be necessary to institute divorce proceedings in order to ensure her own and ultimately also her spouse's financial security. Personal safety was a consideration as well because the wives of *émigrés* were liable to be arrested whereas divorced wives were

¹ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 18 vendémiaire an VI (9 Oct. 1797), pp. 954-55. The italicised words are the work of the journalist, indicating emphasis.

² R. Phillips, *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 78.

exempt³. *Émigré* couples who had divorced for reasons of protecting property were likely to remarry once it was safe to do so.

There is of course the question of why the correspondent was anonymous and this is important from the perspective of whether or not the letter was genuine. Having admitted that her relative was an ex-rebel and an *émigré*, the woman would not have wished to identify herself in case the latter could be traced through her and arrested. Therefore, this Breton relative of an *émigré* and former Catholic Royalist rebel used the literary public space of the periodical press to ask about the future legal position of her kinsman. She was speaking out in order to help him and to protect the family's property and financial interests.

A letter addressed to the editor of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* which appeared in that newspaper in June 1797 provides another example of a woman corresponding with a newspaper for the purpose of gaining information, though on this occasion the information related not to the legal situation of *émigrés* but instead concerned the identity of a group of women, the *merveilleuses*. (In this newspaper fifty-three per cent of the articles written by or referring to women occur in the first year of its life, as shown by the chart on page 323.)

Pourriez-vous, monsieur, me dire quelle est positivement cette
 espèce de femmes qu'on désigne & qu'on ridiculise sous la dénomination
 de *merveilleuses* ? Est-ce une secte religieuse ? Est-ce-une faction politique ?
 Je suis fort peu au courant des nouveautés. Vous obligerez infiniment votre
 abonnée, en éclairant son ignorance à cet égard.⁴

Interestingly, the correspondent described herself as a 'subscriber', suggesting that the *Journal du Dép. de Rhône* did attract some female subscribers. Of course, it must be

³ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 19 prairial an V (7 June 1797), p. 230-31. The word "merveilleuses" is italicised in the text.

remembered that eighteenth-century editors sometimes concocted their own ‘letters to the editor’ which supported the particular opinion they were trying to advocate in their newspaper⁵ and therefore there is a risk that this and the other letters quoted in this chapter, are not genuine. Yet if it is genuine then this letter shows how its writer trusted the editor of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* to give her reliable information as an answer to her question. The writer also admitted that she was not up to date with the latest news and as a result she could be regarded as conforming to the contemporary feminine stereotype of the ignorant woman yet she was nonetheless eager to acquire the knowledge which she lacked and recognised that the newspaper press could function as a source of that knowledge.

The editor replied to her letter thus (the reply was printed immediately after the letter):

Non, madame, les *merveilleuses* ne sont ni une secte, ni une faction. Je ne vois pas même qu’elles existent, avec les ridicules qu’on leur prête, ailleurs que dans les caricatures éphémères dont les marchands d’estampes tapissent leurs boutiques. J’ai beau examiner, je ne vois parmi nos femmes du bon ton, parmi nos petites maîtresses mêmes, rien qui ressemble au costume sous lequel on représente les prétendues *merveilleuses*, ni au jargon ridicule qu’on leur suppose; à moins qu’on ne veuille parler de ces tricoteuses de la jacobinière qui, à force de tricoter les assignats, les mandats & les biens nationaux, se sont fabriquées de solides bourses, & qui, étonnées elles-mêmes de se voir aujourd’hui à une certaine *hauteur*, sont plutôt *émerveillées* que *merveilleuses*. Cette dernière [sic] dénomination ne leur convient sous aucun rapport.⁶

This answer betrays the editor, Pelzin’s, political loyalties and thus perhaps increases the likelihood that the letter was a fabrication, used to make the point that the name *merveilleuse*

⁵ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, p. 81.

⁶ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 19 prairial an V (7 June 1797), p. 231. As before, the italicised words are reproduced exactly as they appear in the text.

was nothing more than a derogatory label applied by the Jacobins to stylish bourgeois women. The editor remarks that contrary to the suggestions of the woman who wrote to him, the *merveilleuses* are neither a religious sect nor a political faction and he does not even think that they exist in reality since he cannot see any sign of the clothing which they are supposed to wear or of the jargon which they are supposed to speak among local well-mannered ladies. He also says that if anything, it is the Jacobin women who have made money out of the recent upheavals who are dressing and talking stupidly. Whether or not the letter is genuine, it is interesting because it shows that women's bodies and clothing were crucial political symbols during the Revolutionary period.

A mere four months later in a Rennes newspaper, another female correspondent had written to the journal's editor, this time posing two questions to which the editor responded after quite a considerable delay.

Par une lettre anonyme, qui me paraît dans le style, et d'une écriture de femme, on me demande, 1°. où j'ai pris l'anecdote concernant les burettes de l'Abbé Maury, et le Prêtre trouvé à Paris célébrant, des armes sur l'autel; 2°. On me parle aussi du motif de l'emprisonnement de M. l'abbé Faligan.

Quand à la première anecdote, quoiqu'elle soit dans plus d'un Journal, et notamment dans la clef du Cabinet des Souverains, je ne l'aurais pas hasardée. L'imprimeur l'a insérée sans ma participation ainsi que la prétendue lettre de Hoche à Schérer.

Pour ce qui concerne le prêtre Faligan, je renvoie la citoyenne qui s'est donnée la peine de m'écrire, au N°. 79 de ce Journal, et aux autorités constituées de Dol, qui l'ont fait arrêter.

Par cette lettre à laquelle je réponds, on paraît [sic] me demander ce que je pense sur ce qu'il reste à faire aux prêtres vraiment infortunés, qui

n'ont point accepté, dans les tems, *la constitution civile du clergé* ?

Comme aujourd'hui, le gouvernement ne reconnaît plus de *clergé privilégié*; qu'il protège tous les citoyens, de quelque religion et opinion qu'ils soient, qu'ii [sic] leur en permet le libre exercice, en se conformant à ses lois; je crois pouvoir assurer la citoyenne à laquelle je reponds, que ceux des prêtres dans le cas proposé qui étaient autorisés à rester en France, et qui défereront à la loi de soumission du serment de *haïne à la royauté*, pourront exercer le culte, chacun dans leurs communes, et publiquement: ils pourront même ne pas fraterniser avec les autres, si c'est leur bon plaisir, et qu'ils le fassent avec discretion sans violer les lois de police...Je crois que cette réponse suffira à la citoyenne qui m'a écrit et que je prie d'agréer mes excuses pour n'avoir pas répondu plutôt à la sienne du premier de ce mois.⁷

This article is dated 11 vendémiaire and it is interesting, firstly because it reveals that one female reader of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* had read its contents sufficiently closely to want clarification of several aspects of what she had read and it also sheds light on the relationship between the editor and the printer (and in this case, the owner) of the paper. Finally, the editor's response to the woman's letter demonstrates, as with the letter about the *merveilleuses*, his attitude to the contemporary political scene and in particular his opinions concerning the current situation of those priests who had refused to swear allegiance to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy earlier in the 1790s.

The female correspondent had first asked the editor from where had he taken the story about the Abbé Maury's cruet (this is a small container holding the Eucharistic wine and water) and the editor replied that he himself had not chosen to insert that article, rather the newspaper's printer had inserted it, and also the supposed letter from Hoche to Schérer, without his consent. Thus it becomes clear that in the case of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* at

⁷ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 12 vendémiaire an VI (3 Oct. 1797), pp. 917-19. The three

least, the editor did not necessarily have complete control over what was published in the newspaper. The answer to the female correspondent's second question is even more significant because it implies that the woman supported the refractory clergy, since she had asked what more could be done to those priests who had not accepted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790-91. Such support, coming as it did from a literate woman who was able to question the editor of a newspaper on the subject, is significant because it does not conform to the male Revolutionaries' stereotype of the silly, superstitious female who was committed fanatically to the cause of the refractory priests⁸, a stereotype which occurs several times in the reports referring to women which are quoted in chapter six. The editor's answer that the Republican government (this article dates from 1797) now protected all of its citizens whichever religion they followed, so long as they observed its laws, reveals that he did not regard the refractory clergy as persecuted by the Directory government. As far as he was concerned, if priests were prepared to swear an oath of hatred to royalty then there was no bar to them celebrating mass. This question of the position of priests in post-Thermidorian society was of considerable importance to this female correspondent of the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* because she had written to the editor on the subject twice, as suggested by the editor's closing comment that he apologised to the woman for having failed to reply to her earlier letter, dated the first of that month (vendémiaire).

Women might also contact the editor of a newspaper in order to seek advice concerning books and literature. An example of such a letter occurs in the Parisian periodical, *Le Démocrate Français* in an issue dating from March 1799. It was written, apparently, by a woman named Antonia who was rather unsure as to what to think about a book which she had recently encountered and was thinking of purchasing.

Je m'adresse à vous, mon cher Démocrate, comme à un

italicised phrases are reproduced as they appear in the text.

⁸ Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, pp. 99, 106, 112.

philosophe versé dans les sciences de toutes les nations, pour apprendre quel jugement je dois porter d'un ouvrage qui vient de tomber entre mes mains.

Je suis entrée, il y a quelques jours, chez mon libraire, pur [sic] lui demander quelques livres nouveaux. Il m'a remis aussitôt un assez gros volume, intitulé le *Crocodile, ou la guerre du bien et du mal*; en l'ouvrant, le début m'a surprise; le voici:

..., . . . Je chante

La peur, la faim, la soif et la joie éclatante.

Que signifient ces points rangés en distances inégales, et cette virgule, ai-je demandé ? Qu'a-t-on voulu exprimer par ces autres points, que je vois un peu plus bas ? (. . .) Cette singularité n'est-elle affichée que pour piquer la curiosité du lecteur ? Un étranger qui entendit ma question, me répondit: " Il me paraît, citoyenne, que "l'auteur a eu un autre but, celui de cacher sous une allégorie une "doctrine, qui pourrait bien être la science des nombres." --- Bon ! m'écriai-je ! j'ai cru cette science, si on peut lui donner ce nom, reléguée dans les Synagogues. De plus, répliqua l'étranger, elle est reléguée au Muséum. On y admire le superbe dessin, où Raphael a représenté Socrate expliquant cette doctrine à Alcibiade. Cette repartie m'imposa silence. Mais, dites-moi, Démocrite, cette science fut-elle véritablement cultivée par cet homme célèbre et malheureux ? Si cela est, j'achete [sic] le livre, et je ne le quitte point, que je n'en aie deviné toutes les allégories.⁹

⁹ *Le Démocrite Français*, 10 germinal an VII (30 March 1799), p. 3.

The book about which ‘Antonia’ was writing had contained several sequences of dots and when she had asked her bookseller what significance they had, someone else (whom she describes as a stranger) had replied that the true theme of the work was perhaps the science of numerology, hidden under an allegory. The stranger also mentioned Raphael’s painting of Socrates and claimed that it showed Socrates explaining numerology to Alcibiade and thus ‘Antonia’ concludes her letter by asking the editor of the *Démocrate Français* to tell her whether or not Socrates did indeed practise numerology; if he did then she declares that she will buy the book and study it until she has discovered all that it has to reveal about numerology. At first sight this could be seen as an instance of an intelligent, inquisitive woman attempting to expand her knowledge. The character of Antonia certainly does not appear to fit the primitive, uncultured image of women conveyed by Restif de la Bretonne in his *Pornographe*, in which he claimed that women are nothing more than sexual beings¹⁰. It could also be regarded as belonging to the genre of the literary review feature, which had constituted an important part of learned journals under the ancien régime, for instance Pierre Rousseau’s *Journal encyclopédique* which in 1761 devoted well over one hundred pages to reviews of novels, or the *Journal des savans*¹¹ but the letter is in fact probably more complex than that.

That complexity derives from the reply to this letter which was written, as were several of the features in this newspaper, in the character of Democritus.

Démocrate est trop modeste pour se donner les gans de *docere*

Minervam; mais l’Encyclopédie offre un vaste champ d’érudition à un

amateur des lettres, lorsqu’il ne veut qu’y chercher des traits légers

d’histoire et de sciences.¹²

¹⁰ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 168.

¹¹ Labrosse, “Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire”, p. 88 and Rétat and Sgard (eds.), *Presse et Histoire au XVIII^e Siècle. L’Année 1734*, pp. 20, 40.

¹² *Le Démocrate Français*, 10 germinal an VII (30 March 1799), p. 3.

The editor recommended the *Encyclopédie* to Antonia if she wanted to discover more about a subject like numerology and yet she (since the editor of *Le Démocrate Français* was also a woman) simultaneously ridiculed that work by saying that it provided lovers of scholarship with a great deal of information so long as they only wished to find faint traces of history and science in it. Thus, she seems to suggest that the *Encyclopédie* and also anyone who consults it, is academically lightweight and so her reply to Antonia's letter could be regarded as patronising. To examine the response further, a possible reason why the editor is less than praiseworthy about the *Encyclopédie* is that she was sceptical about numerology and felt that a serious scientific work would not discuss it. Only a work which was weak in its scientific content (that is, the *Encyclopédie*) would bother with numerology. In other words, the reply to Antonia's letter perhaps constituted a concise critique of the cult of numerology and such a conclusion raises the possibility that the letter and the reply were invented by Citoyenne Reyneri (the editor of the paper for the issue in which this feature appeared) for that purpose.

As mentioned already in this research, education and in particular the subject of female education represented an extremely important and also controversial topic of debate in the eighteenth century. The subject had occurred repeatedly in the pre-Revolutionary press and had been discussed by both men and women and interest in it did not die after 1789. An example of the articles on this topic in the ancien régime press is that which was published in the *Affiches du Poitou* in June 1781 and which argued that women ought to be educated, though only in order to make them effective mothers and to prevent them developing bad habits due to laziness¹³. As for the Revolutionary era, one evaluation from the 1790s of what the philosophy and practice of female education ought to be comes from a woman who wrote to the Parisian newspaper *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* in the early 1790s. (Most of the articles in the *Courrier* written by or which referred to women occurred in the first six issues, as shown by the graph on page 310. This illustrates how the paper's female focus became blurred as

¹³ Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, p. 73.

time passed.) In total the woman wrote three letters to the journal, addressing different facets of the general topic of education but it was in the first of these letters that she claimed that women were the intellectual equals of men and as a result deserved the same educational opportunities as those which were available to men. She can thus be viewed as continuing the theories of pre-Revolutionary female journalists such as Mesdames de Beaumer, de Maisonneuve and de Montanclos who, though their specific socio-political attitudes were distinct from each other, all believed that women had the ability to (and also the right to) receive an education which stretched their minds. Indeed, they were all of the opinion that the human mind is not sexed in any way¹⁴. The woman who wrote the letter to the *Courrier* argued that it was ridiculous to teach her sex only those traditionally feminine, practical skills such as embroidery which they would require for their future as homemakers, even though several writers in the second half of the eighteenth century were declaring that it was harmful to society if women were given the same education as men; for example the physician Pierre Roussel wrote that a woman's ability to bear healthy children would be adversely affected if she cultivated her mind¹⁵.

According to the *Courrier*'s correspondent, however, the truth about male and female aptitudes for learning was the opposite of the prevailing view on the matter:

Je crois, Monsieur, qu'en général les femmes sont plus susceptibles d'apprendre que les hommes. Moins turbulentes, moins dissipées dans leur enfance, par conséquent plus portées à la réflexion, il faut, en vérité, toute la force d'une mauvaise éducation, pour réprimer en elles le goût qu'elles ont naturellement pour s'instruire.¹⁶

¹⁴ Gelbart, "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press", pp. 33, 49, 60-61 and 94.

¹⁵ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 169.

¹⁶ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 24 avril 1791, p. 73.

Girls are in fact **better** pupils than boys, since their placidity means that they are able to devote their full attention to studying and reflection. They suffer none of the distractions caused by being unruly and undisciplined, for instance playing boisterous games or causing mischief. The woman who wrote this letter accepts the idea that the female sex is intrinsically gentle and free of extreme restlessness, though she uses this belief to subvert the Rousseauist axiom that their undemanding nature makes women unsuited to abstract, scholarly pursuits. Women as the author of this epistle sees them are quite capable of and even adept at cogitation, as distinct from Rousseau's Sophie whose mind is 'moins juste que pénétrant'¹⁷ --- she is perceptive but not particularly logical, or precise or accurate in terms of calculation.

The letter's advocacy of women's intelligence does not end there, though. Its writer addresses the concept that educated, intellectual women are mere pedants, whose supposed erudition is nothing but a façade, a series of affectations. She begins by observing that people have always mistaken the unfortunate effects of education on some women for the principle that an educated woman is inevitably pretentious and fastidious¹⁸. To prove her point, she cites the example of Anne Lefebvre, Madame Dacier. Born in 1654 she was a celebrated woman of learning whose main interest was in Classical languages and literature. She translated Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and her intellectual achievements had made her the subject of controversy about women's social position and whether or not they ought to aspire to have careers in the world of learning. This controversy was encapsulated by the attitude of successive editors of the pre-Revolutionary *Journal des Dames*; whereas its socially conservative male editors Thorel de Campigneulles and Jean-Charles de Relongue de la Louptière both tried to dissuade their female readers from thinking that they too could be celebrated academics like Madame Dacier, its radical female editor Madame de Beaumer praised Dacier and also Madame du Bocage as models of what women were capable of

¹⁷ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 516.

¹⁸ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 24 avril 1791, p. 73.

doing¹⁹. She had died in 1720 but was still relevant to French women in the 1790s, according to this Revolutionary Parisian woman. Madame Dacier had herself been accused of pedantry but *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*'s correspondent defends her by asserting that men, in their foolishness and their jealousy had created a dogmatist of her through their flattery and eulogies.

Etoit-ce son savoir qui l'avoit rendu pédante ? Eh ! non, Messieurs,
c'étoient vos perfides éloges, votre étonnement, votre admiration,
vos complimens absurdes, soit grecs ou latins. A force d'art, vous êtes
parvenus à lui donner de la vanité, & vous n'êtes pas honteux de
reprocher à sa mémoire un défaut qui est votre ouvrage.²⁰

If men would cease to be astonished at a woman demonstrating evidence of superior intelligence and learning, then females of an academic inclination would not become pompous, self-important blue-stockings.

The woman who wrote this letter would have given short shrift to the beliefs of a man like François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715; at one time he was archbishop of Cambrai) on the subject of female education. Fénelon asserted that a woman who possesses academic talent 'prides herself on being an outstanding genius among her sex. She thinks it fine to despise the vain amusements of other women. She thinks she is always right and nothing will cure her of this obstinacy.'²¹ Like so many before him, so *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*'s correspondent would have argued, Fénelon is ignoring the major role played by men in the development of the female pedant. Intellectual ostentation is not inherent in scholarly women, in the view of the writer of this letter, it is created by external forces.

¹⁹ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, p. 57 and idem., "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press", p. 34.

²⁰ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 24 avril 1791, p. 74.

²¹ Fénelon, "Advice to a Lady of Quality, concerning the Education of her Daughter", pp. 100-01.

Another point to be made about Fénelon is that as a Catholic archbishop he was concerned that girls should be raised and educated to be good, Christian wives and mothers. Such women would be a great advantage to society. As he remarked early on in *The Education of Girls*, 'A wise, diligent and religious woman is the soul of a great house; she orders its temporal affairs and its eternal salvation.'²² This central theme of Fénelon's argument in favour of a coherent plan for female education, that women are the guardians of morality in society would later be one of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's main preoccupations when he wrote on the same subject. For Fénelon, ignorant women would be foolish wives and poor household managers, allowing themselves, their families and their country to decay in the sense of religion and correct principles. This was because, in his view: 'girls who are badly educated and indolent have an imagination which is always straying. Lacking solid nourishment their curiosity turns eagerly towards vain and dangerous objects.'²³ His words were echoed in the pre-Revolutionary decades by the writer of the essay on female education in the *Affiches de Poitou* in 1781 who argued

it is convenient...to give them [women] some of our knowledge, as useful as agreeable, which adorns the mind, forms the judgement, and assists in the conduct of business. This knowledge can add still more to their natural charms either to...defend them from boredom and laziness which in turn can lead to disorders, or finally so that they become able to satisfy their duty and their own tenderness very early in assisting their own children with this knowledge, when they become mothers with a family²⁴

Thus the same view of women as only requiring education to enable them to be good wives and mothers and to prevent them from being lazy was perpetuated in France for nearly a century between the time when Fénelon wrote his works on female education and the eve of

²² Idem., "The Education of Girls" in Barnard, H. C., *Fénelon on Education*, pp. 1-96, p. 2.

²³ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

²⁴ Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, p. 73.

the Revolution. It is true that the advertisements quoted in chapter three which were placed in Revolutionary newspapers by women who ran schools or taught classes in reading and writing demonstrate that literacy and numeracy and also 'feminine' subjects such as music, needlework and drawing were available to bourgeois girls in the late-eighteenth century²⁵. Nevertheless, many of these girls were able to read and write but were not taught a broad curriculum of the type available to boys of a similar socio-economic group.

The writer of the "Première Lettre d'une femme sur l'éducation de son sexe" concludes that it is not acceptable to confine women to a limited education either on the grounds that their minds differ qualitatively from those of men, being unable to cope with profound reflection and lengthy periods of study, or because opinionated affectation is the inescapable consequence if they attempt such activity. Neither of these claims have a basis in truth, according to this female contributor to *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* and the real motive behind men's desire to curtail the educational opportunities available to girls and women is the male fear of females being able to reason, 'Mais, à vos yeux, le crime des femmes n'est point de vouloir s'instruire. Qu'elles soient savantes, que vous importe, pourvu qu'elles ne soient pas raisonnables; car c'est la raison que vous redoutez.'²⁶ Although this Parisian *épistolière* has previously criticised men for their reluctance to permit the female sex to develop their aptitude for academic study, she now contends that that unwillingness is merely a ruse to conceal the deeper male dread of a logical woman, a dread which was also recognised by Louis-Sébastien Mercier, 'Man begrudges woman any superiority whatsoever...He praises the modesty of woman, more accurately her humility, as the most beautiful of her traits, and since woman has more natural cleverness than man, he resents that facility of seeing, that penetration.'²⁷

²⁵ C.f. chapter three, pp. 123-29.

²⁶ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 24 avril 1791, p. 74.

²⁷ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, p. 213.

The *Courrier*'s female correspondent's argument that women are logical, a capacity which unsettles men, is a paradigm of the early pro-feminist argument which demanded equality between girls and boys in the field of educational rights and possibilities, based on the broadly corresponding capabilities of the brains of the two sexes (though the letter-writer was not **necessarily** a feminist herself). Like the marquise de Lambert and Madame de Miremont before her and like Madame Campan in her own day, this woman opposes the Fénelonian or Rousseauist argument that girls require an education designed purely to prepare them to be wives and mothers. Again, none of the celebrated women mentioned above were feminists in the modern sense but they nevertheless believed passionately in their sex's potential to be as talented academically as men.

However, *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was a middle-class newspaper and the articulate, informed woman who penned to it this epistle on the subject of female education was in all probability *bourgeois*. She had benefited from the advantages of affluence in terms of the education which she was likely to have received and it also meant that she had plenty of time to devote to her studying and self-improvement now that she was an adult. Thus her spirited defence of women's right to more than instruction in domestic science as girls was a product of her background. Lower-class women (and indeed their male counterparts) were too involved in the daily business of trying to earn a living to be able to spare any time for personal erudition. As a result this *bourgeoise*'s "Première Lettre d'une femme sur l'éducation de son sexe", in an ironic parallel with Fénelon's and Rousseau's writings, only addresses the topic of middle-class women's education. There is no such champion for poorer girls.

A further instance of an apologist for female academic ability employing the example of famous learned or accomplished women to prove their point, occurs in *Le Démocrate Français*, which appeared several years after *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*. This time the author of

the piece was Citoyenne Reyneri²⁸ and thus she was the editor of the journal in question for the issue in which the article was published rather than a female correspondent to the newspaper. In the article “Démocrate au Lycée des Muses” Citoyenne Reyneri wrote in the guise of the Greek philosopher Democritus after whom her publication was named.

The purpose of the feature was to list those women whose talents and achievements marked them out as paragons of attainment amongst their sex, for instance the novelist Marguerite Daubenton (1720 -1788), the writer Madame de Staël and Joséphine Bonaparte. The article was therefore literary in nature and as such was typical of the contents of *Le Démocrate Français*. However the chief of the gifted tribe portrayed in the article is the comtesse De Beauharnais, who was a woman of letters. Citoyenne Reyneri portrays her as the president of the assembled women and describes her thus: ‘j’avais beaucoup entendu parler de ses talents dans la littérature, de son amabilité, de son accueil flatteur, et j’osai m’hazarder à mon tour de lui offrir un faible hommage;’²⁹. Citoyenne Beauharnais (this is how she is named in the article, since the latter was written in the post-1792 period when only this egalitarian title was deemed suitable to be used for women) deserves to be worshipped because of her literary abilities. She is portrayed by Citoyenne Reyneri as an able individual and more specifically as an able woman who can function as a model for the rest of her sex, since she forms part of the ‘temple du goût et du génie, dont les graces font les honneurs.’³⁰. Similar articles to this one in which particularly talented women were presented as examples of what the female sex could achieve had appeared in the pre-Revolutionary *Journal des Dames* and indeed one of the members of Reyneri’s “Lycée des Muses” was Madame de Maisonneuve, an editor of that publication. Individual women honoured in this way include Laura Bassi, a bourgeoisie who was awarded a doctorate in physics by the University of Bologna, whilst Madame de Beaumer wrote eulogies about Marie de Gournay (a philosopher), Queen

²⁸ C.f. chapter two, p. 52.

²⁹ *Le Démocrate Français*, 13 floréal an VII (2 May 1799), p. 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Christina of Sweden and Mesdames de Sévigné and Deshoulières (who were celebrated women of letters). Madame de Beaumer's aim in writing these eulogies was to raise the self-esteem of other literate French women and the same may have been true of Citoyenne Reyneri³¹.

Literary ability is not the sole endowment for which Citoyenne Beauharnais and also the other celebrated women are praised by Citoyenne Reyneri, though. She is in addition famous for her courtesy and the warm welcome which she gives to people. Yet these are Rousseauist feminine qualities which are here being presented as an integral part of this noted author's eminence. Perhaps this emphasis on kindness and cordiality results from the fact that Citoyenne Reyneri was assuming a male persona when she wrote the piece. In that case the compliments paid to Citoyenne Beauharnais' happy disposition rather than to her literary gifts represent a man's view of a talented woman, this view being that ability alone does not make a woman admirable for then she would be forgetting her sex. In order to be esteemed for anything a woman must also be charming and feminine. Alternatively, this might be Citoyenne Reyneri's own opinion, meaning that despite her position as a woman operating in the typically male field of journalism, she genuinely believed that women ought never to abandon their femininity. This rather Rousseauist attitude certainly harmonises with the beliefs about women's intellectual capacities which were expressed in the article "Entretien de Démocrate avec une jolie femme, sur la philosophie", which was possibly also her work³². Citoyenne Reyneri would therefore have agreed with Madame de Graigny when the latter opined that 'The woman who exchanges modesty for assurance loses half of her charm.'³³. Thus so that they might succeed in the world many eminent and gifted women themselves appear to have accepted that their sex could never be revered simply for talent.

³¹ Gelbart, "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press", p. 61 and idem., *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 108.

³² C.f. chapter two of this thesis, p. 89.

³³ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 9.

Additional evidence that the model of female education established in Citoyenne Reyneri's article combined Rousseauist elements with more radical concepts of what women were capable of being taught, is given by the description of the general activities of the group of celebrated females who constitute the "Lycée des Muses".

Chacune d'elles fit lecture d'une piece [sic] de littérature,
qui furent écoutées avec attention; les unes des vers, les autres
d'excellens morceaux de comédies, des extraits de romains ingénieux;
d'autres déclamèrent; on y admira de jolis tableaux, dont les sujets et
le coloris étaient également délicieux: on y fit de la musique; les voix
les plus mélodieuses se firent entendre; le piano, la harpe, furent touchés
par des mains aussi habiles pour l'exécution, que charmantes par leur
forme;³⁴

Although the educated, accomplished woman needs to have a thorough knowledge of the various literary forms, that is novels, poems and plays in addition to being able to sing, play the piano and draw, there is no indication here that mathematical or scientific skills are required. It is of course true that famous female scientists were few and far between in the late-eighteenth century, due to the fact that opportunities for girls to be taught physics and chemistry were so scarce. However, to claim that there were no prominent women at all in the field of science in that period is false. Emilie, marquise du Châtelet (1706-1749) who carried out research on the nature of fire and heat was one such woman, as was Madame Lavoisier³⁵. Therefore, Citoyenne Reyneri (either in the guise of Democritus or as herself) restricts the ideal learned woman's education and intellectual abilities to the literary and artistic domain.

Moreover, the choice of the future Empress Joséphine as one of the members of this select female circle suggests that the criteria for entry to the latter did not depart greatly from

³⁴ *Le Démocrate Français*, 13 floréal an VII (2 May 1799), p. 3.

³⁵ L. Gardiner, "Women in Science" in Spencer (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 181-93, pp. 183-84, 186.

conservative models of educated womanhood. Joséphine Bonaparte was admired for her elegance and her grace and charm. Considering that, it is hard to understand why she is placed alongside writers and journalists such as Madame de Maisonneuve who obviously possess extensive mental capabilities as well as the potential to be elegant and gracious. A highly plausible explanation is that once again, Citoyenne Reyneri is of the opinion that it is as important for female education to produce women who are stylish, polite, warm and affable as it is for it to develop the intellectual capacity of girls. According to this female editor of *Le Démocrate Français* the role of women in society must always be remembered when educating them though nonetheless, the picture she paints of women as intelligent and graceful is markedly different to the image of the female sex contained in the news reports concerning women protesting against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy which are quoted in chapter six and describe women as irrational, superstitious harpies ³⁶.

A personal testimony of the importance of education was given by a female contributor to the same newspaper. It was entitled “Les sentimens d’une Française” and it expressed the view that learning was the greatest and richest inheritance that anyone could have.

Le hasard m’avait fait naître dans l’opulence; je pouvais avoir une éducation négligée, et ce malheur eût été irréparable. Mes parens ont plus fait pour moi que la fortune; ses revers m’ont appris depuis à mériter le prix des talens et de leurs bienfaits; qu’il est doux de s’instruire ! et quel patrimoine que l’éducation !...La lecture est la plus grande ressource pour former son esprit; mais on ne doit pas lire tous les livres; on ne saurait trop s’arrêter à une page qui peut apprendre quelque chose; mais tout livre qui n’apprend rien, ou qu’on lit mal, n’est que du papier plié: tout n’est pas bon à savoir, et encore moins

³⁶ C.f. chapter six, pp. 233-39.

à retenir.³⁷

According to this citoyenne, reading represents the most effective tool for forming a person's character and she declares that it would have been disastrous if she had received an indifferent education since the wealth into which she had been born has dissipated and she has as a result been forced to recognise the value of talent. When she writes that she could have received a poor education she was reflecting the reality of eighteenth-century women's schooling because Madame d'Epinay, who was an author of books on female education, asserted that as a child she had been taught only heraldry and music and permitted to read nothing apart from devotional literature and ancient history. In consequence, once she married she read the contents of her husband's library avidly³⁸.

Yet if "Les sentimens d'une Française" is genuine, it implies that at least some eighteenth-century French girls were being given an education which included more than reading, writing, religion and music. Moreover, the writer of this piece is not simply a woman who is eager to learn because she is in addition discriminating, as illustrated by her comment that a book which teaches nothing is mere folded paper. She also remarks that there are some things which it is not worthwhile to know and indeed there is the implication that such things could even be harmful. In consequence the woman who wrote this piece presents herself as someone who is analytical and discerning. She does not fit the picture of the female sex painted by the article "Apology for the Babbling of Women" which appeared in the *Affiches de Bordeaux* in January 1762 and must have been popular because subsequently it was reprinted in the *Annonces, affiches, et avis divers de l'Orléanais* in June 1769. This article contended that women were too garrulous and voluble and also only talked about the same, simple things all of the time³⁹. Neither does the author of "Les sentimens d'une Française" appear to be in agreement with the indignant woman who wrote to the *Journal des Dames*

³⁷ *Le Démocrate Français*, 16 floréal an VII (1799), p. 3.

³⁸ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France*. *Le Journal des Dames*, p. 134.

³⁹ Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 72-73.

whilst Madame de Montanclos was editor and complained about the newspaper's insistence on women's intellectual and literary abilities, saying 'We [women] are actually not very good at it [writing]...Our conversation, on the other hand, can be gay and delightful, and men like that. To claim distinction in literature is to step out of our sphere. Knowledge and wisdom are the provinces of men. Let us not presume to eliminate their advantage.'⁴⁰ This quote demonstrates how it was not only men in eighteenth-century France who were scathing about the female intellect; there were also some women who thought in the same way.

One interesting new aspect of motherhood in France in the 1790s was the material it provided for female poetry, especially in the second half of the decade when literary pursuits such as the composition of poetic verse were being promoted by the government⁴¹. Upper- and middle-class women in the eighteenth century were involved increasingly in literary enterprise. They went to the theatre and bought and read poems, plays, novels and tracts. Not only that but they were also producers of literature⁴². Specifically in *ancien régime* France, upper-class women had been *salonnières* who patronised writers, poets and artists⁴³. They had been criticised by the traditional aristocracy and by social commentators as immoral, artificial and obsessed with luxury. Yet again, those who opposed the *salonnières* argued that in order to counteract their pernicious influence, women ought to be confined to the home and urged to channel their love and energy into private bonds between themselves and their children⁴⁴. Yet during the 1790s and the following decade *bourgeois* women could combine the desire to produce literary output with an adherence to the Revolutionary female ideal by writing about motherhood and their children.

Such a poem was written by Citoyenne Hémery, the female owner of *Le Démocrate Français* and also the co-editor of the issue in which the composition appeared. The subject

⁴⁰ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France*. *Le Journal des Dames*, p. 143.

⁴¹ Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*, pp. 156-57 and c.f. chapter two of this thesis, footnote no. 99.

⁴² Todd, *Sensibility. An Introduction*, p. 21.

⁴³ C.f. chapter one, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁴ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, pp. 27-28.

of the poem, which appeared on 4 prairial an VII (23 May 1799), was Citoyenne Hémery's daughter and it was entitled "A Caroline, Six."

Intéressante Caroline,
 Modèle [sic] de fidélité,
 Toi que dans sa faveur divine
 Le ciel dotta de la beauté,
 Quand d'une heureuse destinée
 Ponr [sic] toi j'entrevois l'avenir,
 De ton amie infortunée,
 Conserve tu le souvenir.

Loin de toi, si mon coeur soupire,
 C'est pour la constante amitié
 Que ma Caroline m'inspire;
 Ce sentiment trop oublié,
 Mais toujours brulant dans mon âme
 Me console; il me fait jouir!
 Je t'écris et mon coeur s'enflame;
 Pour moi brille encor [sic] le plaisir.⁴⁵

These two stanzas show how Citoyenne Hémery conceives her relationship with her daughter. It is an affective bond, according to the mother --- she describes Caroline as being the model of loyalty and writes that when separated from her, her own heart sighs for the abiding friendship which her daughter inspires in her. This is not purely a biological mother-daughter link but one which has an emotional facet to it and which is therefore similar to the relationship described in the anonymous composition "La Mère qui retrouve sa fille" which

⁴⁵ *Le Démocrate Français*, 4 prairial an VII (23 May 1799), p.2.

was written in an IX. Each stanza of that poem ended with the lines ‘My child, recognise your mother, / It is she who loves you best.’⁴⁶ The profound happiness which Hémery feels when with her daughter is reflected in a sentence written by one of the daughters of General de Martange in the 1780s, ‘The company of my little ones is my sole delight.’⁴⁷ The idea of a six-year-old daughter being able to understand fully the sentimental relationship depicted here by her mother is perhaps hard to accept. The point, of course, is that the poem was written for an adult audience and the relationship is meant only to be viewed through Citoyenne Hémery’s eyes.

Caroline possesses beauty and various advantageous characteristics such as innocence and charity, as outlined in the remaining two stanzas:

Parmi les fleurs de la jeunesse,
Dont la fraîcheur orne ton tein [sic]
Nature plaça la sagesse,
Semblable au jour pur et serein.
Elle cultive à ton aurore,
Cette vertu, qui sans fierté,
Dans notre sexe ajoute encore
Aux agrémens de la beauté [sic].

Chez toi la douce bienfaisance,
Repose avec sécurité,
Ton cœur où règne l’innocence
Est son azile respecté,

⁴⁶ Colwill, “ Transforming Women’s Empire: Representations of Women in French Political Culture, 1770-1807 ”, p. 276.

⁴⁷ Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, p. 401.

D'une famille qui t'est chère,
 Tu fais constamment le bonheur.
 Si tu vois quelque bien à faire,
 Cet espoir console ton coeur.⁴⁸

According to her mother, Caroline is a paragon of virtue. She is blessed with wisdom and constitutes her family's happiness. Again, Citoyenne Hémery is quick to ascribe mature emotional responses to her daughter. She writes that compassion and innocence find a safe haven within her child. Most interestingly of all, she asserts that wisdom, so long as it is untainted by pride, enhances the attractions of beauty in what she terms 'our sex', that is her own and her daughter's sex, the female sex.

This poem was written in Paris in 1799. Another French poem on this topic of motherhood and the mother-child relationship had appeared in a Lyonnais newspaper several years earlier. The subject of that composition was a Republican woman whose son had been killed in battle and since the sex of the poet is unknown the poem is examined in chapter six⁴⁹. Such poetry is thus the product of a reasonably sophisticated urban culture. Further evidence of this phenomenon is given by the existence of similar poems in England and lowland Scotland at about the same date or some years earlier. For example, there was Maria Cowper's *On Viewing her Sleeping Infant (Charles Cowper) Written at the Park, Hertfordshire in 1767*, Joanna Baillie's *A Mother to her Waking Infant* (1790), Henrietta O'Neill's *Written on Seeing her Two Sons at Play* (published 1797) or the anonymous *On my own little Daughter, Four Years Old* (1798)⁵⁰.

This last poem is the most significant, since it was written only a year before Citoyenne Hémery wrote hers and its author, like Citoyenne Hémery, was writing about her daughter. The English poet uses the same adjectives and images to describe her daughter as does

⁴⁸ *Le Démocrate Français*, 4 prairial an VII (23 May 1799), p. 2.

⁴⁹ C.f. chapter six, p. 252-55.

⁵⁰ R. Lonsdale, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 270-71, 442-43, 459, 506-07.

Citoyenne Hémery, a point which is demonstrated by the following stanzas of the English poem.

Sweet lovely infant, innocently gay,
 With blooming face arrayed in peaceful smiles,
 How light thy cheerful heart doth sportive play,
 Unconscious of all future cares and toils.

With what delight I've seen thy little feet
 Dancing with pleasure at my near approach!
 Eager they ran my well-known form to meet,
 Secure of welcome, fearless of reproach...

How oft, when sad reflection dimmed mine eye,
 As memory recalled past scenes of woe,
 Thy tender heart hath heaved the expressive sigh
 Of sympathy, for ills thou could'st not know.

Oft too in silence I've admired that face,
 Beaming with pity for a mother's grief,
 Whilst in each anxious feature I could trace
 Compassion eager to afford relief.⁵¹

Although this anonymous woman describes her daughter as being 'Unconscious of all future cares and toils', her child is also depicted as being beautiful, innocent and capable of compassion and pity. This image of the child as the embodiment of innocence was highlighted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Catholic Church with its

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 506-07.

portrayals of the infant Jesus and by the growing popularity of the idea that in order to gain heavenly favour, one had to be childlike in one's simplicity ⁵².

Again, there is an affective bond between this English mother and daughter. Children are of course able to feel and demonstrate love but the little girl in the poem is at one point endowed by her mother with adult depths of emotion and understanding --- the word 'compassion' is used which implies a more mature response than a child's unquestioning, simple love. However, it is admitted in the poem that the daughter could not have an idea of the things which troubled her mother. This relative hesitance on the part of the English mother to regard her child as the fountain of adult virtues could stem, though, from the fact that her daughter is only four years old, whilst Citoyenne Hémery's daughter was six. Nevertheless, on the whole the two women's poems are strikingly similar in the sentimental way in which the relationship between mother and daughter is presented.

Simply by producing and publishing poetry, Citoyenne Hémery was interacting with and was indeed a member of the world of letters, despite the fact that officially, women in Republican France were strongly discouraged from being published writers. According to Rousseauist doctrine women had no real talent for writing except perhaps for scribbles to amuse their families and anyway, such activity would keep them from the exercise of their maternal duties. As Rousseau himself had said,

Toutes ces femmes à grands talents n'en imposent jamais qu'aux sots.

On sait toujours quel est l'artiste ou l'ami qui tient la plume ou le pinceau quand elles travaillent; on sait quel est le discret homme de lettres qui leur dicte en secret leurs oracles. Toute cette charlatanerie est indigne d'une honnête femme.⁵³

⁵² Gélis, "The Child: From Anonymity to Individuality", pp. 322-23 and Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, p. 110.

⁵³ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 536.

It was not merely women writers who came in for criticism from Rousseau --- he also castigated female painters for their presumption. Yet his opinion is contradicted by the activities of female artists such as Marie Leroux-Delaville, Adelaide Labille-Guiard and Rose Ducreux. Ducreux is especially interesting because she exhibited a painting entitled “ Le Portrait d’une Femme tenant sa Fille sur ses Genoux ” at the Salon of 1793, whereas many women artists in the early 1790s, even those with children, did not represent themselves or other women as mothers on canvas⁵⁴. Thus Ducreux can be regarded as embracing Rousseauist attitudes to motherhood whilst at the same time continuing her artistic career.

It was not only Parisian women who used the contemporary periodical press to communicate their thoughts to the wider community. Provincial women corresponded with newspapers as well and on occasion used them as a medium through which to correct false information about themselves they claimed was circulating in their locality. An example of this use of Revolutionary newspapers occurs in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* and consists of a letter which was dated 21 May (1792). It read:

Nous venons de recevoir à l’instant la note suivante. Cette note est relative à un article inséré dans notre journal, numéro 195.

“Soussignée rose la noe, marchande, rue de toussaints, déclare &
 “atteste, avec offre de l’affirmer par-tout où besoin sera, que le 19 mai,
 “jour de l’ascension, je n’étois pas chez m. romilley lors de la visite faite chez
 “lui; jamais je ne lui ai parlé, ni ne suis allée chez lui: lors de la visite faite
 “chez ce m. j’étois chez moi. La similitude du nom de la noe, qui est commun
 “en cette ville à plusieurs individus, aura causé cette erreur. Rose la noe.

Nous aimons à rétablir la vérité des faits, & à rendre justice à
 mademoiselle rose la noe. Mais nous remarquons que nous n’avons pas nommé

⁵⁴ V. P. Cameron, “ Woman as Image and Image-maker in Paris During the French Revolution ” (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1983), pp. 83-84, 117-18.

mademoiselle rose la noe, mais une demoiselle la noe, qui effectivement s'est trouvée à ce rassemblement illicite.⁵⁵

The article in issue 195 referred to here was indeed included in that issue and apart from 'demoiselle la noe' also named Dame Veuve Bidon, Dame Georgeault, Dame Dubouays, Demoiselles Gautier (who were sisters), Demoiselle Burdelot, Demoiselle Thérèse Jus, Demoiselle Picot, Demoiselle Fontaine, Demoiselles Goeslin and Demoiselles Geslin (two more sets of sisters), Dame Martin, Dame Lesquen and her daughter, Demoiselle Nouail, Demoiselle Guibrant, Dame Veuve Le Brice and Dame Veuve Phelippe-Tronjolly and her daughter as having been present at the house of Monsieur Romilley at the time of the clandestine meeting.

It is not made clear exactly what the illegal meeting was about but since it was held on Ascension Day 1792 it is likely that it was attended by those who supported the non-juring clergy. Whatever the truth, Rose la Noe was obviously outraged to have been associated publicly with this meeting and she presumably hoped that the newspaper would retract its statement that she had been present but the editor of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* refused to do so, insisting that a Demoiselle la Noe had indeed attended the meeting. Rose's letter is significant because it shows how determined some people in Rennes in the early years of the Revolution were to avoid being associated with those who supported the pre-Revolutionary Catholic Church.

There is another piece of correspondence from a woman who felt that the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* had printed false information about her in its pages. This letter was addressed to the editor of the "*journal de rennes*". It was written from Guingamp and dated 21 November 1792. It read: "Citoyen",

Quelques personnes ont rédigé ici une pétition relative aux domaines

⁵⁵ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 23 mai 1792. p. 360.

congéables: on distribue une liste de signataires de cette pièce, on met du nombre. Si je l'avois souscrite, je le dirois hautement; & si je connoissois celui qui a osé se servir de mon nom dans un acte que je n'ai jamais vu ni souscrit, je le dénoncerois aux tribunaux comme faussaire & calomniateur. Je vous prie d'insérer cette déclaration dans votre journal.⁵⁶

The letter was signed 'La citoyenne & vraie républicaine, *le métayer-boulon*, épouse du juge de paix de la ville de guingamp.'⁵⁷ She appears to have been a rather formidable character, since she does not mince her words and states that she will denounce before the courts anyone who dares to claim that she had signed the petition relating to local estates. Like Rose la Noe a few months previously, Citoyenne Le Métayer-Boulon regarded the newspaper press as the most effective means of informing the community that she had been misrepresented, even if that misrepresentation had in fact occurred in the pages of a newspaper.

The importance of the title of the *Démocrate Français* has already been alluded to in chapter two⁵⁸ and its significance is underlined by the following piece of correspondence, in which a female reader comments on her appreciation of how a newspaper ought to be structured. The letter begins thus: 'Citoyenne,'

Le premier mérite d'un journal est que ce qu'il contient, réponde au titre qu'il porte. En cela il doit ressembler à une comédie dont le titre annonce le sujet, tant pis pour l'auteur s'il est en contradiction avec lui-même, or un journal est à peu de chose près, une pièce de théâtre: ce sont des scènes éparses et jouées dans les différentes parties de la terre, qu'on offre à un lecteur. Jean-Baptiste Rousseau le disoit bien:

Ce monde ci n'est qu'une comédie, etc.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 2 décembre 1792, p. 415.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 415. The italicised words appear like this in the text.

⁵⁸ C.f. chapter two, p. 55.

Je conclue donc, citoyenne, que votre journal intitulé *Démocrite*, doit faire *rire*, puisque Démocrite fut connu dans l'antiquité pour un rieur de profession, et en cela sa philosophie étoit plus agréable que celle de son contemporain Héraclite le pleureur. La tristesse, les larmes, réparent-elles les malheurs ? Non, rire ou sagement sourire de tout, n'est-ce pas annoncer de la résignation, du courage et de la force d'esprit ? oui, eh bien ! prenons-donc le parti de *rire*, d'adoucir les peines de la vie, en les mêlant d'un peu de gaîté; faisons des contes pour *rire*, des romans pour *rire*, des comédies pour *rire* et des chansons pour *rire*. Souvenons-nous de ces jolies paroles d'un op ra [sic] ⁵⁹:

Et si la vie est un passage,

Sur ce passage au moins semons des fleurs.⁶⁰

The female writer of this article says that a newspaper with a title like *Le Démocrite Français* ought to make its readers laugh. In order to support her contention, she quotes Jean-Baptiste Rousseau and also an opera, as well as mentioning Democritus and Heraclitus and the difference between their dispositions. This mention of figures from the classical world gives the impression that she has some knowledge of classics and this would mark her out from the majority of the contemporary French female population, even the educated section of that population because Latin and Greek did not normally form part of the curriculum taught to well-educated eighteenth-century girls. One example of which subjects wealthy eighteenth-century French girls learned comes from the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis à Saint-Cyr, a house of the Augustinian order which had been founded in 1686. There, pupils were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism and also history, geography, music, languages, drawing and dancing. In other words, classics were absent from the curriculum⁶¹. However, it

⁵⁹ This word should read "opéra".

⁶⁰ *Le Démocrite Français*, 2 prairial an VII (21 May 1799), pp. (1)-2.

⁶¹ Chartier, Compère and Julia, *L'Éducation en France du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 243.

is possible that the contributor to the *Démocrate Français* was only repeating the information about Democritus and Heraclitus which had already been provided by Citoyenne Reyneri in the newspaper's prospectus as a means of explaining what the journal's ethos and contents would be.

The woman who wrote the letter signed herself 'la Solitaire du faubourg Marçeaux' and she described herself in the following way:

Moi qui vous écrit, qui vous donne le conseil de faire rire, je suis pauvre, absolument pauvre par circonstance: solitaire par goût, autant que par raison, privé de tout ce qui est nécessaire à l'âge avancé, ayant dans ma tête un magasin d'observations sur la société, sur le peu de plaisirs qu'on y trouve, et sur l'immensité des peines qu'on y rencontre. Dans mon coeur sont les souvenirs pénibles des ingrats que j'ai fait, des trahisons que j'ai éprouvées de la part de ceux mêmes qui s'empressoient de m'arracher à ma vie sédentaire et paisible. Différente en cela du célèbre Jean-Jacques, je ne soupçonnois pas des ennemis, mais je les trouvois sous mes pas... Je ne ris pas en insensée des maux qui doivent m'affliger, mais je souris dédaigneusement, lorsque je pense à cette foule d'êtres méchants ou insensibles; l'égoïsme, l'orgueil, l'ambition, la haine et la sottise, tout cela amène sur mes lèvres le sourire du mépris.⁶²

The 'hermit' of the faubourg Marçeaux presents herself as a world-weary, philosophical observer who has experienced all of the pain that life can bring yet she still claims to be able to smile scornfully at such evils as hate, pride and stupidity. Her statement that she has in her head a wealth of observations on human society links her to the Baronne de Maussion who in 1822 would write in her *Quatre lettres sur la vieillesse des femmes* that once a woman had

⁶² *Le Démocrate Français*, 2 prairial an VII (21 May 1799), p. 2.

lost her physical beauty, she could concentrate on serious matters⁶³. In addition, the ‘hermit’ demonstrates evidence of some degree of learning when she writes that unlike Jean-Jacques (Rousseau), she did not suspect that she saw enemies all around her but nevertheless she found them dogging her footsteps. This piece presents almost an archetype of the picture of the poor, betrayed but wise recluse and it has parallels with the article entitled “La Rencontre des Gueux” which had already appeared in an earlier issue of *Le Démocrate Français* and which, as stated on page eighty-nine above, disseminated the message that though poor, the French people had not lost their ability to smile at life. Therefore, it is possible that the hermit of the faubourg Marçeaux had written the letter as a genre piece, in the hope that this would maximise her chances of having something printed in this particular newspaper. If this was the case she might have been inspired by the Marquise de Lambert’s *Traité de la vieillesse* in which the authoress discussed retreat from the world in old age or more specifically, by the *Mémoires de Mlle. Clairon* which presented the view of an elderly, retired actress who said

The sagging of my body does not yet influence my spirit and my head; I have all the sensitivity, all the activity of my first age. My taste for reading has happily grown; it is useful to me to surround myself daily with the great characters of all times and all places; I learn with them to compare, to reflect, to bear the void and the pains of life⁶⁴

Alternatively it could be that the hermit herself was the literary creation of one of the female editors of *Le Démocrate Français* or of one of the paper’s staff of writers, conceived for the purpose of reinforcing the newspaper’s message of laughter in adversity.

The final example in this chapter of a woman in Revolutionary France employing the newspaper press as an intermediary between herself and the rest of the local community and also as a channel for communicating her ideas about the current local situation is a letter

⁶³ Troyansky, *Old Age in the Old Regime. Image and Experience in Eighteenth-Century France*, p. 108.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

entitled “Projet d’une citoyenne républicaine de cette commune”. This letter was published in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*, was dated 4 nivôse an II (24 December 1793) and was addressed to the editor. (In this newspaper the features written by or referring to women were distributed fairly evenly throughout its career, as can be seen from the chart on page 321.) The letter read

Il y a long-temps, citoyen rédacteur, que je désirois trouver un moyen de faire connoître au public mes vues sur un objet qui intéresse toute la commune. Ton journal qui, comme je le vois, est celui d’un vrai républican & d’un homme libre, m’offre une occasion favorable. J’ai cependant hésité long-temps avant de me décider à t’écrire; je craignois de te faire perdre un temps précieux pour la chose publique, puisque tous tes momens sont consacrés à un travail aussi glorieux qu’utile. D’ailleurs, comme je ne suis qu’une femme, & que je n’ai pas le talent d’écrire, j’étois fort embarrassée, & je n’osois mettre au jour mes idées; mais un peu d’indulgence: écoute-moi. Les reflexions dont je veux te faire part, sont de moi, & peut-être ne seront-elles pas inutiles au bien public, auquel nous devons tous tendre de toutes nos forces & contribuer de tous nos moyens. Les voici:

J’entends de toutes parts crier contre les boulangers; certes, on est fondé à s’en plaindre; c’est une classe d’individus qui sont dans leur genre aussi despotes que le tyran que l’on a abattu...Il est donc inutile de chercher à les corriger; cherchons donc plutôt à nous en passer, ou à ne nous en servir que pour ce qui sera strictement nécessaire; je veux dire, pour cuire le pain que chacun peut faire chez soi, comme cela s’est pratiqué ci-devant dans cette commune...Il ne convient pas de leur confier la fabrication d’un aliment aussi nécessaire.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 9 nivôse an II (29 décembre 1793),

It should be noted that the citizeness terms the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* the newspaper of ‘true republicans and free men’, thus affirming her support for the radical Jacobinism of the journal itself and also for the Jacobin regime which was in control of Lyon in the autumn of 1793. Her letter addresses her concerns about the local bread supply and it expresses her dislike of bakers, whom she characterises as despotic. Because the bakers will not change their ways, they must be cut out of the food supply-chain and instead the citizens of Ville-Affranchie must be provided directly with bread. She says that she has written to the newspaper to enumerate her reflections on the problems of ensuring that the local citizenry is fed and she expresses her desire that her reflections will prove beneficial to the public good, which everyone ought to serve and nurture. The citizeness thus regards herself as having a part to play in the establishment of the new, egalitarian regime in Lyon and she does not appear to distinguish between men and women when it comes to the task of working for the welfare of the Republican community.

This letter must be seen in the context of the Montagnards’ struggle to provide the nation with basic food supplies during the summer and early autumn of 1793⁶⁶. In addition, it is interesting that the woman who penned the letter is concerned about the provision of food because her decision to write to a newspaper on the subject is the literary equivalent of the direct, physical action taken by a group of local women prior to the siege and occupation of Lyon. The women had broken into a warehouse and requisitioned food in an incident which is recounted in chapter five⁶⁷. Moreover, the writer of the letter subverts the usual Revolutionary image involving women and food, that of the virtuous mother suckling her children, the nation’s citizens, with her breast milk, ‘le nectar le plus doux’⁶⁸ as it was described in a poem included in the fifth edition of the mothers’ manual *Avis aux Mères* which

p. 229.

⁶⁶ Jacobus, “Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution”, pp. 64, 66-67.

⁶⁷ C.f. chapter five, p. 217.

⁶⁸ Jacobus, “Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution”, p. 61.

was published in an VII (1798-99). Instead of feeding merely her own children, this female correspondent of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* regards herself as having a duty to watch over the nutritional needs of the whole of the local community and in consequence her action of composing the letter reflects something Malesherbes had written in 1775 about the role of the printed word in society: 'In an enlightened century, in a century in which each citizen can speak to the entire nation by means of print, those who have the talent for instructing men and the gift for moving them...are, among the dispersed public, what orators were in the midst of the public assembly.'⁶⁹ This public and also political function of addressing the people on topics related to the universal good might well have been considered to be the task of male politicians and administrators by the radical Republicans who held power in Lyon at that time but nevertheless the woman who criticised the bakers of occupied Lyon seems to have regarded herself as possessing the ability to speak to and for the community on important matters such as these.

Having explained why it was vital to establish a plan to supply the community of Ville-Affranchie with bread without the need for the co-operation of local bakers, the female correspondent proceeds to delineate her strategy, which involved distributing flour to households on the basis of how many members each contained:

On a délivré dans les sections des cartes qui indiquent le nombre d'individus qui composent chaque ménage. Que l'on se serve du même mode pour délivrer de la farine à la place du pain, en calculant la quantité qu'il en faut donner par décade à chaque ménage. Pour moi, mon ménage est composé de trois personnes, & avec trente livres de farine, ma subsistance est assurée pour dix jours au moins.

Par cette mesure, exécutée avec ordre, personne ne pourra accaparer la farine, & le profit que le boulanger retire de la fabrication du pain, tombera

⁶⁹ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, p. 30.

dans les mains auxquelles ce bénéfice est dû; tout le monde pourra se faire du pain, chacun à sa manière, & c'est ainsi que l'on parviendra à écarter la foule qui obstrue les rues aux portes des boulangers. Les citoyens ne seront pas obligés de rester deux ou trois heures exposés au froid & à la pluie pour avoir du pain.⁷⁰

Her plan for using the pre-existing system of cards indicating how many people lived in each household as a basis for distributing flour proportionally and thus fairly, suggests that she had devoted a great deal of thought to the subject and her proposals seem rational and realistic. However, the editor, D'Aumale's reply to the citizeness's ideas was somewhat condescending. He wrote that this citoyenne's condemnation of bakers was too generalised, whilst nevertheless praising her good, Republican principles⁷¹. The fact that his newspaper was radically Jacobin may have been one reason why D'Aumale did not take his female correspondent's opinions and proposals on such a public matter seriously.

The common themes running through the articles cited in this chapter are those of literate, educated women expressing their thoughts, opinions and concerns to the rest of the community, including other literate women. The women who penned these letters, poems and articles might also regard themselves as serving the local community by corresponding with newspapers or they might be trying to expand their own knowledge. They were in all cases participating in the contemporary literary public sphere, which as mentioned in chapter one was the only aspect of the public sphere to which they had legitimate access, considering that in a society like Revolutionary and subsequently Republican France, women were denied political rights. Of course, women's communication with the Revolutionary newspaper press was not one-way traffic; on occasion articles in that newspaper press were designed specifically for a female audience and these are examined in the next chapter.

⁷⁰ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 9 nivôse an II (29 décembre 1793), p. 229.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

**FEATURES AIMED AT A FEMALE AUDIENCE (INCLUDING REPORTS OF
SPEECHES AND REPRINTED LETTERS WRITTEN TO WOMEN).**

Women did constitute part of the newspaper-reading press of Revolutionary France, as explained in chapter one, even if this participation was limited to literate women. In consequence, if someone wished to transmit information or opinions to those literate women and also to any illiterate females who had indirect access to journals through hearing them read aloud by another person, then the Revolutionary newspaper press represented the most effective way of communicating with as many women as possible in a given period of time. The fact that several different types of feature which were intended to be read by women were included in the newspapers researched for this thesis demonstrates that contemporary people recognised the role of the provincial or Parisian journal as an intermediary between the local female population and the rest of the community. The sorts of information which were aimed at a female audience varied from reprinted letters offering advice to mothers and fashion reports, to articles about divorce and decrees issued by municipal authorities which regulated female behaviour. On occasion advertisements offering women a job or other position also appeared in the newspapers researched for this thesis. It is significant that maternal subjects recur in the material examined in this chapter because this was one of the main debates concerning women in the French Revolution.

For example, the first article quoted in this chapter is a piece entitled “Avis aux mères” which was signed by a ‘père de famille’. It was published in *Le Démocrate Français* in 1799.

Une mère tenait pour mort, sur ses genoux, un enfant de dix-huit mois, succombant aux convulsions qu’il éprouvait depuis quarante-huit heures. Elle se rappelle qu’un accoucheur lui avait autrefois donné le conseil de tâcher, en pareil cas, de faire boire au malade de sa propre

urine. Sur-le-champ elle pose le corps inanimé sur un vase de nuit, et bientôt elle peut y recueillir un peu d'urine. On parvient à désserer les dents de l'enfant, et à lui en faire avaler deux cuillerées à café. Dix minutes n'étaient pas écoulées qu'il avait recouvré la connaissance et la force; et il continue à se bien porter depuis dix jours que l'accident lui est arrivé.

C'est la. cit. Metté, rue du faubourg Honoré, no. 56, qui a eu le bonheur de sauver son enfant par ce singulier moyen.¹

The writer of this article presumably cited the name of the woman who supposedly saved her child by applying the method described in order to lend credence to his account. This article forms part of the new, eighteenth-century literature designed to improve the health of children. For example, Marie Anel Le Rebours's *Avis aux mères* was approved by the Faculty of Medicine of Paris and offered advice on the feeding and care of babies and such literature probably grew out of a culture which was placing increasing importance on the sentimental bond between mothers and children². Whether or not readers of the *Démocrate Français* would have been persuaded to try the home remedy of making a sick child of theirs drink its own urine in an effort to revive it is perhaps a moot point considering that they were living in a society in which patented medicinal products were more and more readily available and in which the producers and consumers of such products were existing in symbiosis³. However, the female editors of *Le Démocrate Français* must have thought that Citoyenne Metté's action worthy of being communicated to the rest of their paper's readership because they decided to print the above article and it is possible that the reason for their decision was that they themselves were mothers with young children.

¹ *Le Démocrate Français*, 19 floréal an VII (8 May 1799), p. 2.

² Jacobus, "Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution", p. 60 and Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 170.

³ Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, p. 79 and c.f. chapter three, pp. 130-33.

The aim of improving child health was also behind the following notice, an “Avis” which appeared in an issue of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* from May 1793 and invited local mothers to attend an instructive talk:

Les meres [sic] sont invitées de venir entendre prononcer un
Discours sur les cris de la nature, tous les lundi de chaque semaine, dans
la salle du bureau des nourrices, rue de Flandre, n°. 21, au fond de la cour;
les meres [sic] sensibles sont invitées à y assister, à cinq heures du soir.⁴

It is interesting that the lectures are announced as being held in the meeting-room of the city’s wet-nursing agency, again demonstrating how the cultural theory of maternal sentiment could coexist with the social reality of women employing other females to feed their children. In fact, it is possible that the agency had agreed to host the meeting in an attempt to counteract the negative image of the wet-nursing industry created by the contemporary statistics showing high numbers of infants dying whilst in the care of wet-nurses; in Paris between 1770 and 1776, for example, thirty-one to thirty-two per cent of the 66, 259 babies who were placed with wet-nurses through the local bureau of *nourrices* died in their nurses’ often filthy rural dwellings⁵.

Another important aspect of the notice is the use of emotive adjectives like ‘tender’ to refer to those mothers who are invited to attend the sessions. The implication is that those mothers who decline to be present are neglecting their children. Since Revolutionary France was by 1793 a society in which motherhood was glorified, it would have been difficult for most women to avoid feeling pressure to attend these lectures. As Madelyn Gutwirth remarks, it became difficult for women in France in the second half of the eighteenth century to resist the honour which society conferred on them when they devoted themselves to their children. Moreover, the contemporary arguments in favour of restricting women to the domestic

⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 10 mai 1793, p. 316.

⁵ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, pp. 48, 50.

sphere and familial duties were couched in terms of natural sexual difference against which it was hard to formulate any opposition. Whereas men were identified with the individual, the public and the political, women were regarded as dependent, private and maternal and a mother's nurture of her children was considered to be the factor which activated human love of virtue. Male and female characteristics were therefore opposite elements in society and theoretically complemented each other ⁶.

The appearance in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* of an advertisement about an educational meeting for mothers might be taken to imply that the city of Lyon was experiencing a massive upsurge in maternal feeling in the early 1790s, an upsurge which would lead local women to rear their offspring unaided. Such a conclusion would, of course, be false. A Rousseauist desire to nurture one's children was not so widespread in the city of Lyon in the 1790s that the traditional occupation of wet-nurse had become extinct, due to the socio-economic determinants mentioned in previous chapters (for instance lower-class women's need to work). That the wet-nursing industry was alive and well in Revolutionary Lyon is illustrated not only by the holding of the lectures for mothers at the wet-nursing bureau but also by the publishing of the advertisement, again in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, from the young woman aged twenty-two who was lodging with Citoyen Farge (this advertisement was discussed in chapter three ⁷).

The extremely high status accorded to mothers in Revolutionary France was not necessarily confined to those women who had given birth and were therefore fulfilling the reproductive function of motherhood. A woman who cared for someone else's biological offspring, for instance a woman who acted as a surrogate mother to her niece and nephew, might also receive praise and this raises the question of which aspect of motherhood was

⁶ Ibid., p. 178 and Scott, "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer": Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women", p. 105.

⁷ C.f. chapter three, p. 111-15.

culturally the more important in Revolutionary France, the biological or the nurturing, caring one.

The case of a woman being a surrogate mother to her niece and nephew which occurs in the newspapers surveyed for this research comes from an issue of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* from August 1795, in which there was a letter written to his aunt by a young man who was about to die. There is no indication in the letter of why the young man is about to die but he does say that he will die innocent and given that and the fact that the letter was written during the night of 25 / 26 ventôse an II (15 / 16 March 1794), it is probable that he was a prisoner of the Jacobins following the Siege of Lyon which had ended on 9 October 1793⁸. He had several things to ask his aunt before he died and having begun his letter by addressing his relative as ‘ Ma très-chère tante ’, he continued thus:

Je croirois manquer à la reconnoissance, et à tous les sentimens de la nature, si je négligeois de t’écrire dans la circonstance où je suis, pour te remercier de tout ce que je te dois. Tu as fait pour moi et ma chère soeur, tout ce que nous aurions pu attendre de la mère la plus tendre; tes soins obligeans nous ont conduits pas à pas jusqu’au moment où nous avons pu nous connoître, et alors trop bonne, tu as bien voulu nous continuer ton amitié et tes sages avis.

Mais, ma chère tante, ma bonne et tendre mère, ton neveu fils, expirant, vient te prier de en pas borner là toutes tes bontés pour sa famille; tu sçais combien j’aime ma soeur, combien elle est digne d’être aimée: oui, ma chère tante, Amélie est digne d’être aimée et estimée par tous ceux qui la connoissent; c’est toi qui l’as élevée, c’est toi qui as mis dans son jeune coeur ces principes de vertu qui ont si bien germé et qui font aujourd’hui ta gloire et ma consolation. Mais Amélie est bien jeune, c’est

⁸ B. Benoit and R. Saussac, *Guide Historique de la Révolution à Lyon 1789-1799* (Lyon, 1988), p. 29.

une foible plante qui a besoin d'un ferme appui; voudras-tu bien lui en servir,
mettre la dernière main à ton ouvrage ?⁹

This young man sees his aunt in a maternal light --- she has cared for him and his sister for years and taught them good morals and principles. He writes quite specifically that she has done for them everything which they could have expected from a tender mother. In particular, his sister Amélie is a testament to her surrogate motherhood. Amélie is virtuous and loved by all who know her, according to her brother. His trust in his aunt as a suitable guardian and female role-model for his sister is demonstrated amply by his request that the former continue to guide and watch over the latter.

This letter therefore furnishes evidence that the educational and caring aspects of motherhood were at least as important to the Revolutionary maternal image as the biological fact of giving birth. A century earlier Fénelon had emphasised the significance of mothers' educational role. He wrote in 1678, 'We know that in ancient Rome the mother of the Gracchi contributed, by the education which she gave her sons, to forming their powers of eloquence when they became men.'¹⁰ Also, when Madame de Montanclos was the editor of the *Journal des Dames* in the mid-1770s she repeatedly referred to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, as a model for her female readers, writing that Cornelia's happiness had derived from the fact that she had reared sons of whom she could be proud and thus she associated patriotism with motherhood¹¹. As a result of this emphasis, women like this young man's aunt were able to be respected for having fulfilled maternal duties and thus been good Revolutionary mothers. There is in consequence a link between this Lyonnaise and the Breton Mesdames Pradier, Codet and Prigent whose declarations that they would bring their children up to be good citizens will be examined in the following chapter¹². Note how the young man

⁹ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 3 fructidor an III (20 Aug. 1795), p. 454.

¹⁰ Fénelon, "The Education of Girls", p. 83.

¹¹ Gelbart, "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press", p. 64 and idem., *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames*, p. 191.

¹² C.f. chapter six, pp. 243- 47.

describes himself as his aunt's nephew-son; biologically he is the former but in practical terms he feels himself to be the latter.

The contemporary French obsession with matters relating to mothers and children started at the point of birth or even before it. In order to give birth to healthy future citizens women in Revolutionary France required as effective ante-natal care as eighteenth-century medical practitioners could provide. The administrators of the département of Ille et Vilaine were as a result not unusual in their especial concern that the townspeople of Rennes should have access to health education. In a letter to the inhabitants, the administrators stressed the importance of ensuring that midwives and anyone else who attended women in childbirth possessed basic medical knowledge:

Vous savez, Citoyens, que la partie des accouchemens [sic] est une des branches les plus importantes de l'art de guérir. La nature a besoin d'aide dans ce moment périlleux où les femmes vont devenir mères, et l'ignorance en cette occasion peut entraîner les suites les plus funestes.

Il est donc essentiel, pour le bien de l'humanité, d'éclairer l'inexpérience [sic] des sages-femmes qui se livrent à cette partie: ...C'est pour remplir un but aussi utile, que le département a nommé un démonstrateur d'accouchemens [sic]...Nous desirons [sic] que toutes les accoucheuses, tous les citoyens qui se destinent à l'exercice de cet art précieux, partagent l'avantage de cet enseignement gratuit...L'intérêt public exige que cette instruction soit répandue; c'est un bienfait du gouvernement républicain. Il viendra même un temps où les sages-femmes ne pourront être admises à exercer cette profession intéressante, sans avoir suivi un cours, et sans constater, par un examen, qu'elles y ont puisé les connaissances nécessaires.¹³

¹³ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 28 germinal an VII (17 April 1799), pp. 11-12.

Informed midwifery is vital because the health and even the lives of the next generation of French citizens depends upon it and it is therefore a matter of public interest. As a result the Republic is determined to ensure that courses to educate all those who care for women in labour are widely available. The maternal role of the French Republican woman is emphasised here, as is the value of proper ante- and post-natal care to any civilised nation. The administrators' letter represents a local expression of the link between the health of the nation and the health of its citizens, a link which was also articulated by Constantin Volney in his catechism of 1793 when he declared that 'civic responsibility [was] health-seeking behaviour' ¹⁴. This official interest in the education of midwives represented a significant development in Republican society because, as Alan Forrest argues, during most of the eighteenth century in France, midwifery was not thought of as being a subject which merited study. Such an attitude was one of the factors which caused a high rate of mortality among orphaned and abandoned infants in eighteenth-century French hospitals. For instance, in Toulon between 1763 and 1773, fifty-six per cent of *enfants trouvés* died before they were a year old ¹⁵.

Yet in proposing in their letter that in the future it might be necessary for anyone wishing to attend to a mother in child-bed to have followed a midwifery educational programme and have proved their competence by having sat an examination in the subject, the départemental authorities of Ille et Vilaine were denying that the experience and uncertified expertise of contemporary midwives and their predecessors had any validity whatsoever. This denial stemmed from the suspicion and fear with which the contemporary medical community viewed the traditional, 'unscientific' sources of much of the knowledge possessed by midwives ¹⁶. No attempt is made by the administrators to distinguish between those midwives

¹⁴ Scott, " 'A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer': Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women", p. 104.

¹⁵ Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor*, p. 121.

¹⁶ L. Wilson, *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment. The Debate over Maladies des Femmes* (Baltimore, 1993), p. 120.

who are reasonably competent (by contemporary standards) and those who are grossly negligent. Therefore, the implication of the officials' letter is that women who for years have cared adequately for mothers-to-be without authorisation from local administrators will henceforth be viewed, at least by the educated elite and by bureaucrats, as backward and dangerous to the health of mother and baby unless they attend courses and formally acquire the appropriate medical knowledge. Also, despite employing repeatedly the sexually specific term *sages-femmes* to refer to midwives, the administrators' letter also mentions 'all the midwives, all the citizens' and the male or sexually unspecified form of the noun 'citizen' is used. This suggests that although people in France in the 1790s tended to think of midwives as being women, under the new system of lessons and examinations men would attain equal status with women in the field of midwifery, thus transforming what had once primarily been the preserve of women (male *accoucheurs* did exist) into a unisex occupation.

Although there were a good many articles aimed at female readers which related to matters of childbearing and child-rearing, there were other types of feature in the Revolutionary periodical press which were written with a female audience in mind. Fashion bulletins constituted one of these other types of feature. In Lyon, a city where costumes and textiles were at the forefront of many people's minds since silk weaving was one of the main local industries, so significant was information about what was chic and what was not that the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* featured fashion bulletins within its pages. These articles described in some detail the very latest trends in dress and accessories, so that female consumers who read the newspaper could keep themselves informed on the subject. This sort of information had been passed from woman to woman for years by word of mouth but the medium of the periodical press allowed it to be disseminated far quicker than previously and also to reach a greater proportion of the female population. For example:

Les redingottes de satin sans manche, bordées de martre; les fichus proscrits, les épaules & les bras nuds; le sein demi-decouvert [sic]; un

chapeau de velours noir, relevé en paillettes: voilà le costume obligé des femmes à la mode, à Paris.¹⁷

Note that wearing clothes which leave one's shoulders and arms bare and the bosom half-revealed is **obligatory** for women who want to be considered stylish. Those in the know thus dictate to others what is acceptable or unacceptable in terms of attire. Consumerism is not necessarily a matter of originality or individuality. It is also significant that it is the stylish ladies in Paris whose costume is being presented as the model to be copied --- the capital is thus dictating to the provinces in sartorial matters.

A few months later another bulletin appeared, this time containing a satirical political and social commentary along with the facts about the latest fashions.

Modes. Aux perruques blondes ont succédé les cheveux noirs relevés en tresse à la manière des Athéniennes. Ces cheveux sont entremêlés de perles & soutenus de bandelettes dorées. Cette simple coëffure [sic], renouvelée des Grecs & des Romains, donne au teint le plus brillant éclat.

Cette nouvelle révolution dans les perruques peut cependant compromettre le caractère de la nation. Un voyageur, il y a six mois, aura remarqué que toutes nos jolies françaises étoient blondes; s'il revient, il les retrouvera brunes; quel sera son étonnement, s'il ignore l'histoire des perruques ? Ne pourroit-il pas croire que nous avons fait l'échange de nos femmes avec quelque nation voisine ? En vérité, c'est être exposé à une réputation d'inconstance qu'on ne mérite pas. Le Français veut bien voltiger de belle en belle, mais il ne cessera jamais de préférer ses incomparables compatriotes à toutes les femmes de l'Univers.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 22 nivôse an V (11 Jan. 1797), p. 435.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 19 prairial an V (7 June 1797), p. 249. The italicised rubric which heads this article is the work of the journalist.

According to the male writer of this article, the way in which French women dress and how they style their hair is a far from frivolous matter in the sense that their physical appearance can affect how others view the men around them. If they change the colour of their hair by donning a different wig, people who visit France once and spot certain women with blonde hair and then return several months afterwards and spot the same women again, this time as brunettes, might erroneously assume that their husbands have rid themselves of their first wives and acquired foreign replacements. Women, being by nature more impressionable than men and with less to think about, would obviously give time and thought to their personal appearance¹⁹.

This argument is obviously ridiculous and indeed was meant as a joke. The journalist was using humour in order to make his point more effectively and as a means of establishing a link with his male readers; they are all boys together laughing at the girls. Foreigners visiting France twice in the space of a few months would never have read so much into the clothing and hairstyles of French women that any discrepancies would be recognised and interpreted as meaning that the male population of France collectively commits serial monogamy or even bigamy with the female population of neighbouring countries. However, the writer's reservations about the perpetually mutating world of female fashion and about the desirability of women being avid consumers of it are totally in earnest and demonstrate a link in his mind between national identity and dress codes. He characterises French men, as did the Revolutionary politicians, as patriotic (because they prefer their own countrywomen to females of any other race or nationality), constant and honest. Yet in order for the inhabitants of other countries to regard them as such, their wives' appearance must confirm these personality traits. French women's choice of dress and coiffure must not disgrace their menfolk. The journalist's attitude to female fashion is, as a result, ambiguous since he simultaneously provides information on the latest styles and looks whilst criticising the female

¹⁹ For Rousseau's views on women and personal adornment, see Jones, "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity

obsession with fashion because of the problems he believes that obsession can provoke in terms of the French national character.

It is interesting that these opinions date from 1797 rather than from, say, 1793-94 when the political and economic conditions of the Terror meant that luxury and frivolity in clothing or cosmetics was frowned on. By 1797 extravagance was increasingly prevalent in the costumes of both sexes in many major cities and perhaps particularly so in Lyon where many of the population were trying to forget the occupation of their city by the hated Parisian Jacobins. Yet male attire apparently presents no difficulties for the writer of the article. Presumably this is because he feels that his own sex is always on view to others and therefore its integrity is not as bound up with external factors such as dress as is the integrity of women. It is acceptable for a man to be a consumer. The paradox though is that any lack of female integrity which is hinted at by a woman's choice of garments automatically reflects, in the opinion of the writer, on male probity. There is another important aspect of this particular fashion bulletin. Despite his worries about the consequences of women adopting every latest trend of hairstyle or garment, including the new Greco-Roman dark wigs intertwined with pearls and supported by bands of golden cloth, the writer nonetheless admits that the aforementioned wigs are simple and make the complexion shine. He is thus appreciative of the positive effects that the various elements of fashion can have on the female physique and this appreciation introduces a hint of ambivalence in his attitude to female consumers of clothing and accessories. Such ambivalence was also evident in the career of Joseph Boudier de Villemert who argued in the pre-Revolutionary *Ami des femmes* that women provided the moral foundation for a society yet also tried to launch a fashion journal, *Le Courier de la mode, ou Journal du goût*²⁰.

and Fashion in Old Regime France " and c.f. p. 261 below, including footnote no. 69.

²⁰ Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France*. *Le Journal des Dames*, pp. 57-58.

A more conventional criticism of the female taste for personal adornment, in chronological terms, is that which was expressed at a political meeting in Rennes in 1793 and which was reported in the local newspaper, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*:

Mais joignez vous-mêmes l'exemple du civisme à la leçon. Souvenez-vous que dès l'instant où les *états-unis* déclarèrent leur indépendance, les femmes furent de moitié dans les actes de générosité, de courage & de patience qui éclatèrent de toutes parts. Elles renoncèrent à tous les ornemens de leur sexe, elles déposèrent leurs bijoux sur l'autel de la patrie; elles pensèrent que leur unique occupation pendant la guerre seroit de pourvoir aux besoins de leurs maris, de leurs pères, de leurs frères, de leurs enfans. Citoyennes françaises, voilà vos modèles & la règle de votre conduite.²¹

The orator cites the example of the American women during the War of Independence who renounced their flounces, ribbons and jewels for the sake of their country's freedom. They believed that whilst the war lasted their main concern ought to be their husbands, fathers and children. By sacrificing their vanities on the patriotic altar they were, of course, being model citizenesses and in this speech French women are urged to act in the same way. By reprinting an extract from this speech in a local newspaper, the message that women ought to put country before vanity would have reached far more women than could have been present at the original meeting.

However, the newspaper press in Rennes was not necessarily consistent in the view of the world which it presented to its female readers. In other words, local journals contained advertisements for fancy goods which might be expected to attract women in addition to pieces which delineated the appropriate Republican female behaviour, a behaviour which stressed sacrifice and modesty rather than vanity and frivolity. An example of the kind of feature which appeared to contradict the message communicated to women by articles like the

²¹ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 14 mars 1793.

one quoted above is the notice informing the public of the sorts of textile goods sold by Citoyen Foucault on his visit to Rennes in February 1799. This notice was printed in the same newspaper, the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille*, which printed the advertisement detailing Citoyenne le Jeune's lost belongings (this was quoted in chapter three) ²².

Le citoyen *Foucault*, marchand de Paris, tenait depuis peu à
Nantes, un magasin général de nouveautés en soiries, bijouteries, merceries,
bonneteries, ganteries, parfumeries, cristaux, porcelaines, &c. voyageant avec
le plus beau choix de ses marchandises, est de station en cette ville, jusqu'au
20 pluvîose [sic]. Il vendra en gros et en détail, aux prix de Paris.

Il est logé chez le citoyen *Leclerc*, horloger, rue Jean-Jacques-Rousseau,
n°. 2, au premier étage. ²³

The silks, bonnets, haberdashery and gloves which form this man's stock are in contrast to the ordinary garments and accessories which were stated as being owned by the innkeeper Le Jeune. Foucault sold what Cissie Fairchilds refers to as 'populuxe' goods --- commodities which, as the above term suggests, were simultaneously luxurious because they were not essential and popular because they were available at prices which a relatively large proportion of the population would be able to afford. According to Fairchilds, in Paris between 1725 and 1785 the number of lower-class people who possessed these populuxe items rose significantly. For example, in 1725 forty-nine per cent of lower-class inventories of possessions from the neighbourhood of the rue St. Honoré included jewellery, whereas the figure had risen to seventy-eight per cent by 1785 ²⁴.

Yet despite these statistics, the items offered by a Parisian merchant like Citoyen Foucault were clearly expensive for many of his customers in relation to their income and

pp. 534-35. The phrase in italics is reproduced as it appeared in the newspaper text.

²² C.f. chapter three, pp. 151-53.

²³ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 14 pluviôse an VII (2 Feb. 1799), p. 1908. The names in italics are the work of the advertiser.

²⁴ Fairchilds, "The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris", pp. 229-30.

therefore special. In addition to the various textile-related products, he also advertised jewellery, porcelain and crystal which demonstrates that his intended clientele was sufficiently wealthy to be able to afford such treats and fancies, though in many cases the purchases would be kept solely for use on ‘best’ occasions. The *bourgeoisie* were the most frequent clients of someone like Foucault, particularly the more affluent members of that class, though artisans and their wives would also indulge themselves periodically.

It could be argued that because Citoyen Foucault’s notice and the report of the political meeting in Rennes were published in different years and indeed in different Rennais journals, then local women were not in fact being given conflicting messages through the medium of the press. That is to say, the apparent gulf between the two features can perhaps be explained by the fact that the wider political situation in France changed between 1793 and 1799. The classical Republican austerity of 1793-94 had by 1799 been transformed into the more relaxed and also extravagant attitudes to costume and fashion which characterised Directory France. Yet whilst this is true, the advertisements in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* of Jacobin-occupied Lyon for cosmetic/medicinal products²⁵ illustrate how the same newspaper could call on women to reject the luxury and vanity of the ancien régime and yet simultaneously, for economic reasons, present them with notices for products to enhance and prettify their physical appearance.

Divorce constituted another topic which might be covered in features targeted at a female audience, especially in a newspaper such as *Le Courrier de l’Hymen* which was specifically aimed at women. Such a subject was extremely important in the 1790s due to the profound effect which the introduction of divorce in Revolutionary France in September 1792 had on French men and especially on French women. The impact of the divorce legislation cannot be overstated because under the *ancien régime* the Gallican Church and the state had upheld the Roman Catholic doctrine of marital indissolubility. Thus divorce did not exist

²⁵ C.f. chapter three, pp. 131-32.

though separations (known as *séparations de corps et d'habitation*) were granted to couples who could no longer live together under the same roof. Grounds for judicial separation under civil law included a husband attempting to murder his wife whilst adultery constituted a reason for separation under church law²⁶. Separations in *ancien régime* France were quite rare, though. In Rouen in Normandy there were only thirty-three petitions for judicial separation between 1780 and 1789. As Roderick Phillips argues, this suggests that separation was not regarded as a beneficial option by most warring spouses²⁷. Therefore, the introduction of divorce in Revolutionary France transformed relations between the sexes.

An actual incidence of a couple separating is discussed in the next chapter but as far as a theoretical treatment of divorce which was written with women in mind is concerned²⁸, in *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* the editor, feeling that he was fulfilling his aim of producing a newspaper which tackled topics of relevance to women (an early version of 'women's issues'!), discussed divorce in one of the early issues of the newspaper.

Puisque nous devons rendre compte des ouvrages qui intéressent les femmes, il n'en est point, qui par sa nature mérite plus de trouver place dans le journal de l'Hymen, que celui qui a pour objet de prouver que le *divorce est d'accord avec la raison et la religion*.²⁹

Interestingly, the male editor tolerates divorce and even more interestingly, he chooses a religious framework within which to discuss it, that is he tries to show that there is no incompatibility of religion and divorce. This is quite unusual coming at the end of the eighteenth century which was the era of Enlightenment when most writers were justifying divorce in terms of natural rights and social utility³⁰. For example, earlier in the century Jean Charles Lavie had written that it was contrary to fickle human nature to chain oneself to the

²⁶ Phillips, *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce*, pp. 54-55 and idem., *Putting Asunder: A history of divorce in Western society* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 161.

²⁷ Phillips, *Untying the Knot*, p. 55.

²⁸ C.f. chapter six, pp. 227-30.

²⁹ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 10 mars 1791, p. 21. The italics are the editor's.

³⁰ Phillips, *Untying the Knot*, p. 59.

same person for life. Others argued along demographic lines: Montesquieu claimed early in the century that the availability of divorce among non-Christian peoples resulted in higher birth-rates and in the late 1760s Cerfvol tried to prove that celibacy was increasing with each generation in France and that France would end up utterly depopulated in consequence³¹. For writers like Condorcet and Helvétius, the pro-divorce argument was a moral one --- the *ancien régime* was corrupted by illegitimacy, child abandonment and celibacy. Divorce would solve all of these problems by making marriage an institution which was not a prison which in turn would lead to the eradication of adultery and illegitimacy because unhappily married men would no longer be forced to prey on unmarried women³².

The background to this quote is that *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* was published in early 1791, a time when the Constituent Assembly was debating whether or not to define marriage as a civil contract, which would pave the way for the legalisation of divorce. This debate, which culminated in the definition of marriage as a civil contract (rather than as an indissoluble sacrament) in the Constitution of 1791³³, in turn had resulted from the events of 1790. On 8 April that year Hubert de Matigny presented the Assembly with his pro-divorce *Traité philosophique* and in August Pierre-François Gossin became the first member of the Assembly to call for the legalisation of divorce³⁴. In addition Albert Henet's *Du Divorce*, the first serious, in-depth treatment of the circumstances in which divorce should be permitted and the first detailed plan for divorce legislation, had been published in 1789. In this influential work Henet laid out twelve grounds which justified divorce and proposed procedures for obtaining divorce and he also dealt with custody arrangements for children³⁵. Interestingly, the Revolutionary divorce law echoed much of Henet's work because it established family assemblies and courts to deal with divorce petitions and made custody arrangements for

³¹ Ibid., pp. 56-57.

³² Ibid., pp. 57-58.

³³ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁴ Phillips, *Putting Asunder*, pp. 175-76.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 173-74.

children³⁶. So, the topic of divorce was even more important than normal for the *Courrier de l'Hymen*.

The other contextual aspect of this editorial is that a Monsieur Bouchotte, the *député* for the département of the Aube had just produced a pro-divorce tract showing that religion and divorce were not mutually exclusive. The editor carries on:

Il [Monsieur Bouchotte] a appuie son opinion sur une autorité incontestable, celle de Dieu même, qui dit à l'homme: " Vous garderez celle qui a mérité vos bonnes graces, et qui a possédé votre amitié; vous n'abandonnerez pas la femme de votre jeunesse, car elle est une partie de votre vie, et une portion de votre esprit; mais retranchez de votre chair la femme qui a tourné ses vœux vers un autre homme, elle n'est plus propre à vous aider; mais elle l'est à vous tendre des embuches ". Il y a dans ces paroles un caractère divin, qui ne s'accorde pas avec les vœux de ces hommes qui ne voyent dans le divorce que la faculté de se séparer d'une femme qui a perdu la fraîcheur de la jeunesse, et de s'unir à une autre, dont les charmes leur inspirent des desirs éteints pour leur première compagne.³⁷

The editor is concerned that divorce should not be undertaken lightly, only for the right reasons. He simultaneously defends and attacks women and quotes the Biblical position which itself upholds the sexual double standard --- there is nothing here about a wife repudiating her husband if he becomes involved with another woman. It could be argued that the editor only quotes the Biblical position in order to show the basis for Monsieur Bouchotte's argument that divorce is not contrary to reason and religion but there is reason to believe that this is also his own view. For instance, Bouchotte himself did not believe that an adulterous wife ought

³⁶ Phillips, *Untying the Knot*, pp. 60-61.

³⁷ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 10 mars 1791, p. 21.

to be repudiated by her husband ³⁸. In addition, in the quotation above, the editor calls the authority on which Bouchotte rests his argument ‘incontestable, that of God even’ and cites an appropriate passage from the Bible. He then continues by saying that the words he has just cited have a divine character to them, which implies that he agrees with them and consequently with Bouchotte.

The Bible and the editor claim that a woman who has been a faithful companion to her husband and who has thereby merited his love and admiration ought not to be cast off by him merely because she has become a little long in the tooth and lost her youthful freshness. In this sense they are favourable to women, supporting the female sex’s right to be judged, as are men, on more than simply their beauty. However, an adulterous woman is to be treated very differently and abandoned with no further thought. Adultery is therefore a valid reason for divorce, but apparently only adultery on the wife’s part, not on that of the husband as well since there is no mention of casting off unfaithful husbands. So, divorce according to this man is only of benefit to a woman if she follows the traditional model of a ‘good’ wife. Yet when the Revolutionary divorce law was passed eighteen months later on 20 September 1792, it treated men and women much more equally. Under this law legal separations were abolished and divorces could be obtained by mutual consent, or alternatively parties of **either** sex could petition for divorce on one of eight grounds, including incompatibility, desertion for at least two years, or (and this is the most significant reason with regard to the editor of the *Courrier*’s arguments) the notoriously dissolute morals of their spouse ³⁹. Therefore the editor is rather at odds with contemporary divorce legislators.

Having shown, with the justification for it laid out in the Bible, that divorce is not contrary to religion, the editor then sets out the grounds which he believes should and should not lead to divorce.

³⁸ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 96.

³⁹ Phillips, *Untying the Knot*, p. 60.

Il est certain que dans le cas où l'assemblée nationale décréterait, pendant le cours de cette législature, le divorce, ce que nous ne croyons pas, il seroit de la sagesse de le restreindre à des cas très-rares, tels que ceux d'un adultère bien prouvé, d'une aliénation d'esprit prolongée, d'une incomptabilité d'humeurs très-pononcée [sic].

La sterilité, les maladies physiques, ne peuvent être des causes de divorce, parce qu'elle sont des accidens qui entrent dans le lot du mariage. Malheur à celui auquel ils échoient; ils s'est exposé à ces tristes chances.

La femme stérile ne doit pas être rendue à la société, encore moins celle qui a contracté des maladies, parce qu'il est plus juste qu'elle demeure à la charge de l'homme qui a obtenu ses prémices, que de la faire retomber sur la société, qui n'auroit que le fardeau de son inutilité.⁴⁰

Apart from adultery (on the part of the wife only, or also on the part of the husband ? --- after his previous comments one would think on the part of the wife only but this is not clear), the editor cites temperamental incompatibility and irreconcilable division between the spouses as just grounds for divorce. Illness and barrenness do not, however constitute reasons for divorce since these are unfortunate accidents of life and as a result must be accepted. A healthy spouse may not cast off an unhealthy husband or wife. Once more, the editor is at odds with much contemporary thinking on this matter because Albert Henet in his *Du Divorce* said that sterility for a specified period or incurable illness would indeed justify divorce. Also, madness in one of the spouses was a ground for divorce under the 1792 divorce law⁴¹.

Infertile women must remain within a marital unit because they are useless to society in their sterile condition. They cannot help to increase the birth rate and so furnish France with a

⁴⁰ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 10 mars 1791, p. 21.

⁴¹ Phillips, *Putting Asunder*, p. 173 and idem., *Untying the Knot*, p. 60.

new generation of citizens. When they can no longer perform this role, or indeed if they are unable to perform this role from the start, they have no useful function to fulfil. Probably the reasoning behind the editor's thinking was that if a now barren woman had at one time been able to have children, her husband would have had the benefit of her offspring, who would have been able to work and thereby supplement the household's income. As a result he ought to repay the favour by looking after her. Yet it could be argued that society would also have had the benefit of the children which the woman had borne so why should it not support her now ? As for a woman who is ill, she must remain in a family unit because she cannot survive financially as a single woman by working if she is infirm. Again, it must be her husband who cares for her since he has profited by her domestic work in the past. The editor makes a valid point here because, as stated in chapter three, the low rates of pay for women working in all kinds of occupations in the eighteenth century made marriage virtually a requirement for many women in financial terms. For example, female lace-makers in the Velay earned as little as two sous a day whilst spinners and stocking-knitters all over France rarely earned more than eight sous per day⁴². Such sums would be sufficient to support a married woman but not a single one.

The editor of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, considering his thoughtful language and rather intellectual tone, was probably trying to reach a mainly *bourgeois* female readership and was likely to have been middle-class himself. Jacques-René Hébert, though also bourgeois, aimed his *Père Duchesne* at the Parisian sans-culottes and thus employed a strikingly different vocabulary and journalistic style to convey his argument to his readers, yet he too saw divorce as vital if such horrors as the murder or beating of a wife by her husband were to be avoided.

Comment, foutre, encore une femme assassinée par son mari...J'ai été
en Angleterre, en Hollande: eh bien là, comme dans tous les pays libres,
il y a des mœurs; le mariage est bon & honnête. Si on s'est trompé, au

⁴² Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*, p. 38 and c.f. chapter three, pp. 146- 47.

lieu de vivre comme chien & chat, de s'empoisonner, de s'assassiner
 comme ici; on se dit, nous ne nous convenons pas. prends [sic] tes
 guenilles, moi les miennes; nous avons deux enfans; prens [sic] la fille, moi le
 garçon. Fou moi le camp ou je foutrai le camp, comme tu voudras. Nous nous
 aimerons peut-être de loin: marie-toi à ton goût, je m'en fous; je me marirai
 comme je voudrai, ça t'est égal. En restant en esmble [sic], nous nous
 mangerions le coeur: d'un mauvais ménage faisons-en deux bons & ne
 servons foutre pas à faire de la graisse de pendus.

Voilà ce qu'on appelle le divorce.⁴³

The first thing to notice about Hébert's argument here is that he refers to England and Holland as models to be emulated in the case of divorce. He has this in common with many other eighteenth-century French pro-divorce writers. As Roderick Phillips states, such people mentioned England with special approval, which suggests that they did not really know whereof they spoke, since in contemporary England divorce was allowed only by private Act of Parliament, a method which was restricted to the wealthy due to the great cost involved⁴⁴. Perhaps most important of all though, is the way in which Hébert, who was not usually much enamoured of attempts to increase women's rights and improve their position in society, here advocates divorce as a way of preventing them being maltreated in marriage. Thus he appears to be defending their cause and offering them a chance to escape oppressive marital relationships. However, that he ultimately desires women to be part of a successful marriage and not at large in society, fending for themselves, is clear from his comment:

D'autres [maris] foutent leurs femmes à l'ombre dans des
 couvens [sic], où elles deviennent plus garces, qu'à l'opéra. Elles
 s'ennuyent; elles foutent le camp avec leurs greluchons! voilà une

⁴³ *Le Père Duchesne* (Paris, 1791-94), janvier 1792, pp. (1), 5-6.

⁴⁴ Phillips, *Untying the Knot*, p. 56 and L. Stone, *Broken Lives. Separation and Divorce in England 1660-1857* (Oxford, 1993), p. 25.

volée de putains qui se joint aux autres, & couvre le pavé de Paris.⁴⁵

It is disastrous for society if husbands lock up their unwanted wives in a convent since the women soon become bored with such a secluded existence and run off together to the city where they get up to all kinds of mischief. For Hébert, the only way to avoid this situation is to make divorce possible so that two unhappy spouses can break their marital link and seek out new partners. In this way, no woman will be left to her own devices and to the company purely of her own sex which inevitably, to Hébert's mind, results in trouble. Consequently Hébert regards women as being a potential force for disaster who need to be part of functioning marriages in order to benefit society. This view was characteristic of male Republican opinions on female sexuality⁴⁶.

The features in a certain newspaper which were aimed at women readers were not confined to advertisements for mothers' meetings or essays on divorce. The local authorities might disseminate the terms of a new law to the community through the pages of the periodical press and in the autumn of 1793 the men in power in occupied Lyon used the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* for that purpose, to inform the female population of the city that henceforth they would not be able to congregate freely. The restriction of the women of Lyon's freedom came in the wake of the abolition of female clubs and societies by the Convention Nationale on 30 October 1793. This measure was passed because women in groups were regarded as a dangerous element within society. The Republican festival became the officially approved public space where women could appear collectively⁴⁷. The specific example of inappropriate behaviour which was quoted as the reason for the decree, was the support expressed by the members of the Républicaines-Révolutionnaires for the *enragés*⁴⁸. This, however, masks the wider fear of all female organisations which was endemic within

⁴⁵ *Le Père Duchesne*, janvier 1792, p. 3.

⁴⁶ K. Norberg, " 'Love and Patriotism': Gender and Politics in the Life and Work of Louvet de Couvrai", in Melzer and Rabine (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution*, pp. 38-53, pp. 44, 50.

⁴⁷ For Republican festivals and women's role in them, see M. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988).

⁴⁸ H. Mills, " 'Recasting the Pantheon' ? Women and the French Revolution", *Renaissance and Modern*

radical Jacobinism, a fear which grew out of the Jacobins' identification of female virtue with chastity, fidelity and domesticity. Theoretically, by becoming involved in politics women would compromise their chastity because their uncontrollable sexuality would cause *citoyens* to compete for their favours⁴⁹. A version of this law, which related specifically to Ville-Affranchie, as Jacobin-occupied Lyon was known, was announced to the female population of that city in December 1793. The Municipal Council's proclamation was signed by, among others, Bertrand (who was the mayor), Arnaud-Tizon, Francallet and Lefebvre. The last individual named in the list was the Procureur de la Commune. Bertrand was a former associate of Chalier, which illustrates the pro-Montagnard stance of the municipal officials of Ville-Affranchie. As a result of the proclamation, if they wished to be law-abiding *citoyennes* local women in the future would have to renounce a great deal of their normal activities.

The decree read: 'Citoyennes,'

Vos magistrats vous défendent tout rassemblement, en particulier & en public. Il faut que le règne des lois s'établisse. Le peuple, toujours immolé impunément, veut enfin être vengé... Les temps de l'intrigue, & de l'essai sacrilège [sic] d'un pouvoir séducteur, sont passés. Le peuple est juste; & lorsque la loi frappe, on ne doit entendre aujourd'hui que ce cri: *Vive la République!*

La révolution devoit vous avoir préparées & amenées à d'autres sentimens. Le règne par essence de la véritable humanité, ne vient pas étouffer la nature; mais tel est l'ordre social, qu'il faut changer celui de ses affections, & qu'il est nécessaire, pour le plus grand bonheur de l'espèce humaine, de ne donner que le second rang aux affections privées. La patrie dorénavant doit être la première dans vos coeurs comme dans les nôtres.

Studies, 33 (1989), pp. 89-105, p. 95.

⁴⁹ D. Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution* (New Haven, 1989), p. 126.

Si un système corrompateur de mollesse & d'égoïsme, si les petites passions de la vanité, si les tracasseries d'une ambition puérile, vous empêchent d'arriver jusque-là, vous n'avez que des âmes [sic] dessechées, vous ne pleurez que de fuites jouissances. Renfermez-vous alors dans l'intérieur de votre domesticité; qu'on ne voie pas des pleurs qui vous déshonorent; enveloppez-vous d'un manteau pour les dérober à notre vue.⁵⁰

Apparently, the issue here is one of morality and justice for the people. The survival of the fatherland must be the primary concern of all of the Republic's inhabitants, both men and women. Such an objective requires women to renounce all involvement in politics. Any wish for a role in political life articulated by a woman is dismissed as mere vanity and childish ambition. The decree did not, however, prevent women leaving their homes in order to discharge their everyday duties. The one proviso was that they must not gather in groups to chat. The Montagnards were in awe of women's capacity for determined collective action.

The background to this legislation is that by December 1793, the siege of Lyon had ended with the defeat of the anti-Jacobins, whom W. D. Edmonds terms 'federalists'. The inverted speech marks are necessary according to him because Lyon's support for the federalist movement was never sustained in terms of an organised effort to defeat Parisian centralism⁵¹. In the aftermath of the siege, the political situation in what had been Lyon was extremely complicated. The Comité du Salut Public was determined to crush the enemies of the Republic and to this end various Commissions were created to govern the city. From 21 October onwards, the Commission de Justice Populaire tried those rebels who had been captured unarmed. On 10 November, the Commission Temporaire de Surveillance Républicaine was established by Collot d'Herbois, Fouché and Delaporte. Its function was to supervise the local authorities in addition to arresting priests, redistributing wealth from the

⁵⁰ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 17 frimaire an II (7 Dec. 1793), p. 101. The italicised phrase is reproduced as it appears in the proclamation.

⁵¹ Edmonds, *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon, 1789-1793*, p. 213.

Church and the rich to the poor and ensuring the city's food supply. Finally, on 3 frimaire an II (23 November 1793) a state of 'Revolutionary war' was declared which meant even harsher repression of the former rebels, whilst troops from Paris arrived two days later⁵². The problem was that these Commissions existed alongside the local *Comités révolutionnaires* and the *Municipalité* and thus there were separate and competing power structures within the city, composed of either Parisian or Lyonnais Jacobins. There were even differences of policy between the Parisian Jacobins. Georges Couthon, who had created the Commission de Justice Populaire, was the first representative sent by the Convention to deal with Lyon but he was thought to be too lenient and was replaced by d'Herbois and Fouché on 9 brumaire (30 October)⁵³. It was in this atmosphere of confusion and fear of counter-revolution that the decree forbidding local women to associate with each other was passed.

The arguments employed in the proclamation which claim to justify the ban on women congregating inside and outside the home, do not stand up to scrutiny. In saying that everyone has a responsibility to uphold the *patrie*, the text seems to be treating men and women in the same manner, even as equals. Doubtless this was how those who supported the decree would present it to women, that if they did indeed yearn to play their part in the life of the Republic, then to refrain from socialising with other females was the way to achieve it. Yet if they were denied the ability to congregate freely with other members of their sex, in official terms the women of Ville-Affranchie could not be considered to have comparable status to men whose social lives were not restricted in this way. The supposed equality of the roles assigned to men and women by the proclamation was a façade and the proper role of women is revealed to be an apolitical one.

However, the deeper reasoning behind this law suggests that in reality, in Revolutionary Lyon the female sex was as politically active and aware as its male counterpart.

⁵² Ibid., p. 282 ff.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 284.

As mentioned above, because it intended to try and isolate the women of Ville-Affranchie from each other, the decree ought to be regarded as the product of a male Jacobin fear of the power of women in groups, women who were exercising what Dominique Godineau refers to as the authority they derived from being members of the *peuple*. According to Godineau, ordinary women could assume such authority because the contemporary definition of citizenship was closely linked to the concept of popular sovereignty. Although women were officially denied political rights such as the vote, they were still part of the *peuple* and as a result, because the *peuple* considered themselves to be the arbiters of true authority in the Jacobin Republic, women could be regarded as members of the political elite ⁵⁴. Instances of collective female action had occurred in Lyon earlier in 1793 and included the incident of 24 May in which a crowd of women broke into a warehouse and sold off the butter destined for the Armée des Alpes which had been stored inside ⁵⁵. The women needed food for their families and they were determined to acquire it by any means necessary. Paradoxically, therefore, the repressive decree which was promulgated by the Municipalité of Ville-Affranchie in December 1793 illustrates the extent to which contemporary local women took collective action as female representatives of the popular sovereign body. The new law was not just related to the decree passed by the Convention Nationale in November of the same year but was also generated by a series of specific local events. It is precisely this feminine aspect to the history of the revolt of Lyon which is given insufficient attention in works such as Edmonds' *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon 1789-1793*. Edmonds' book has no entry in the index for the subject of 'women', for example.

A second conundrum also arises from the decree's text. The authors argue that the reign of true humanity does not stifle nature but in the second half of the same sentence they are forced to admit that the contemporary social structure is such that the law must change the

⁵⁴ D. Godineau, "Femmes en Citoyenneté: Pratiques et Politique", *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 67, no. 300 (1995), pp. 197-207, p. 199 ff.

⁵⁵ Edmonds, *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon 1789-1793*, p. 156.

order of priority of people's affections. In other words, Republican citizens must learn to stop putting their human relations first and instead subordinate them to love for the *patrie*. The logic in this argument is somewhat skewed since the obvious inference from the municipal officials' admission is that nature has indeed been stifled and also tampered with. This modification was necessary because a human being's (or rather, in the opinion of those who formulated the decree, a female human being's) natural inclination is to put individuals first, rather than abstract concepts like the Republic. This means that the officials, in true Jacobin fashion, associate women with specific, familial things whereas men's domain is that of the universal⁵⁶. That it is only women whom the officials accuse of being misguided in the directing of their affections, is evident when the proclamation declares that from now on, the fatherland 'ought to be your [referring to the female population] main concern as well as ours' (referring to men). Therefore, the obsession with nature displayed by a large proportion of male Revolutionaries was not so overwhelming that it could not be abandoned when a more pressing demand came to light.

In consequence, once the anti-Jacobin rebels were defeated in October 1793, the radicals were determined that there should be no further threats to their rule, which in turn meant that they were determined to enforce measures like the law against women congregating in the streets or in houses and this determination is expressed in one of the last paragraphs of the document announcing the decree. Any woman who might not be taking the measure seriously, is warned that there will be severe penalties for those who break the law:

En conséquence de ces considérations, la Municipalité enjoint à toutes les citoyennes de cette Commune, de ne plus se former à l'avenir en rassemblement, soit particulier, soit public. Un exemple a été donné pour ce délit; qu'il suffise: celles qui contreviendront à la présente injonction, seront arrêtées,

⁵⁶ Scott, " 'A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer': Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women", p. 105.

incarcérées comme suspectes, & jugées de suite comme telles.

La Municipalité invite la force armée de tenir la main à l'exécution de la présente défense.⁵⁷

Women who socialise with others of their sex will be arrested and imprisoned as a danger to the general public. The punishment they receive and the involvement of soldiers in the enforcement of this particular law will reflect the fact that they are a potential threat to the security of the French state. The authorities clearly hoped that any women who might be reluctant to deny themselves the company of their female friends or relations would be encouraged to do so by the thought of facing gaol.

Ironically, another type of feature which was intended for female readers and which is quoted in this chapter is an appeal to the women of Ville-Affranchie to work in the manufacture of weapons. This appeal presumably came from the same municipal authorities who had a few weeks previously issued the decree prohibiting local women from socialising with each other. The appeal appeared in the supplement to the issue of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* containing the letter from the citoyenne who wished to reform the local food supply, which was discussed in the previous chapter⁵⁸, and read as follows:

Nous invitons les citoyennes, & sur-tout les veuves, les mères & les femmes des républicains qui combattent sur les frontières, à se livrer au travail dans les manufactures. Elles connoissent l'utilité des armes; elles sont particulièrement intéressés qu'il s'en fabrique beaucoup, puisque leurs maris & leurs enfans qui combattent à la frontière en sont souvent dépourvus.⁵⁹

The line of argument which is used in this article to try and persuade local women to make themselves available for such important war work, is that weapons are often in short supply

⁵⁷ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 17 frimaire an II (7 Dec. 1793). p. 101.

⁵⁸ C.f. chapter four, pp. 186-90.

⁵⁹ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 9 nivôse an II (29 Dec. 1793). p. 231.

for their husbands and sons who are fighting France's enemies and thus they should be particularly eager to ensure that the armies were properly provisioned. Thus once again, emphasis is placed on women's familial ties and their pivotal role in supporting the patriotic efforts of their male relatives and so women's role as providers for their families and, by extension, for the nation is emphasised. However, the Republican regime which the women who responded to this appeal were being asked to help defend was one which refused to see them as individual, politically competent citizens but rather as dependent beings whose dangerous sexuality must be restrained in order for the new French nation to prosper⁶⁰. The women of Ville-Affranchie inevitably will aid the perpetuation of the new political subordination which has been imposed on them.

Personal notices in which women advertised for a husband have already been discussed in chapter three, on pages 143 to 150 but *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* also contained some matrimonial advertisements which were placed by men and which were thus aimed at the newspaper's women readers. One such notice, which had been placed by a widowed man, appeared in June 1791 and it demonstrates a mixture of romantic and pragmatic reasons for marriage. The widower was a trader in both the wholesale and retail businesses and wished to marry off his daughter so that he could retire and leave his son-in-law to run his commercial enterprises.

Un homme veuf étant dans le Commerce en gros & en détail de différentes marchandises, desire marier sa fille, âgée de 23 ans, pour se retirer du commerce; il céderoit à son gendre le fond de son commerce, à la charge d'être remboursé de moitié de sa valeur, & le surplus seroit pour la dot de sa fille, ce qui pourroit faire uu [sic] objet de vingt-cinq

⁶⁰ Norberg, " 'Love and Patriotism': Gender and Politics in the Life and Work of Louvet de Couvrai", p. 45 and J. B. Landes, "Representing the Body Politic: The Paradox of Gender in the Graphic Politics of the French Revolution", in Melzer and Rabine (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution*, pp. 15-37, p. 29.

mille livres; il voudroit que son gendre ne fût pas plus âgé que de 24 à 28 ans, qu'il fût d'une bonne famille & eût beaucoup de connoissance dans le commerce.⁶¹

This man was prepared to allow his prospective son-in-law to have the base of his business if the latter reimbursed him with half of its value. The surplus would form his daughter's dowry. By announcing his daughter's future wealth, presumably he was hoping to increase the chances of finding simultaneously a husband for her and a new manager for the family business. Considering that together with his insistence that any candidate for his daughter's hand must be from a good, well-connected family, it could be argued that he has something in common with a father depicted by Louis-Sébastien Mercier. This father has a daughter who is sorrowful because she has recently learned that she is to be married. When she tells her father that he is asking for the impossible when he requests a smile from her, he replies 'L'impossible? & pourquoi, s'il vous plaît ? quel mal vous fait-on de vous marier avec un homme bien né, très-aimable, & sur-tout fort riche?'⁶² A man who had spent years building up commercial interests would be determined to pass on the business to his sons. If he had no biological sons, as this man appears not to have had, then he would have to gain a son by marriage who would subsequently inherit the business. The advert can therefore be seen as an attempt to safeguard the family's fortunes.

There is a parallel here with English marriages made for the benefit of the family business as well as for romantic reasons in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, for example the case of Samuel Kenrick who in 1812 became the business partner of his uncle Archibald and married Archibald's daughter Marianne soon afterwards⁶³. However, there is also a divergence from the ideal of marriage expounded by Louvet de Couvrai, one of the best-selling authors of the late 1780s and politically, a Girondist Jacobin. He believed that

⁶¹ *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*, 9 juin 1791, p. 128.

⁶² Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, Tome X, p. 32.

⁶³ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (1987).

marriage ought to be a union which was entered into freely and in which the couple's families and especially paternal power, had no place⁶⁴. The advertisement in the *Courrier de l'Hymen* demonstrates that although men like Louvet may have theorised about the replacement of paternal power by the power of free men uniting as political brothers, in reality the ability of individual fathers to arrange their family's financial and economic affairs as they wished had not been abolished by the Revolution. What the advertisement also reveals is the inferior social position of women in Revolutionary France, something which writers like Louvet attempted to conceal but which, ultimately, could not be ignored⁶⁵.

It was not merely prospective family members who might be targeted through the periodical press. Someone who wished to trace a lost relative could place an announcement in a newspaper and thereby reach a reasonable number of people and also contact people from a fairly wide geographical area, in other words not just the town in which the newspaper was published but also people in the town's hinterland and in neighbouring towns. In the supplement to an issue of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* from July 1791, an advertiser promised a financial reward for information about a missing person.

une récompense considérable à toutes personnes qui pourront donner
des renseignemens certains sur la nommée marguerite-jeanne beglé,
mariée il y a 39 à 45 ans, avec le nommé rené de lecluse, ou bien qui
indiqueront une famille de ce nom & le lieu qu'elle habite. Dans ce cas
la récompense sera moindre.⁶⁶

The notice does not give any definite indication as to why Marguerite-Jeanne is missing but since she is described as having married René Lecluse about forty years ago, it is likely that this advertisement was placed by one of her blood relatives and that she and René left the area

pp. 217-19.

⁶⁴ Norberg, " 'Love and Patriotism': Gender and Politics in the Life and Work of Louvet de Couvrai", pp. 39, 48-49.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

⁶⁶ Supplement to *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 28 juillet 1791, p. 120.

in which they (or perhaps just Marguerite-Jeanne) had been born in order to search for work. Their migration could eventually have led to Marguerite-Jeanne losing touch with her parents and siblings. For many ordinary people in eighteenth-century France migration in search of work during periods of local unemployment was an accepted part of life. For instance, young women who worked as *servantes* in the houses of small artisans involved in urban textile industries would be thrown out on to the street by the families who hired them during periods of economic depression and thus they might be forced to travel to try and find another position. Also, in the second half of the eighteenth century between thirty and forty per cent of those held in each *dépôt de mendicité* or beggars' prison were usually seasonally unemployed agricultural day labourers whilst up to another thirty per cent were unemployed textile workers⁶⁷. In some cases such people had tried to seek work in regions other than their own but had been unsuccessful and eventually had been reduced to begging to try and feed themselves.

Without the medium of the newspaper press through which to transmit their request for information about Marguerite-Jeanne, her relatives would have found it more difficult to attempt to trace her because they would have been dependent on oral communication and on itinerant traders travelling to the various regions of France. Naturally, these traders would have taken a long time, perhaps months to return with information whereas replies to the newspaper advertisement could have been received at the office of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* and relayed to Marguerite-Jeanne's relatives within a few weeks of the publication of the issue containing the notice. Once more, therefore, the Revolutionary newspaper functioned as a facilitator of communication between disparate people.

The articles discussed in this chapter illustrate how journalists, readers and government officials all used the newspaper press to target female audiences with pieces on subjects which were supposed to be of interest and important to them. The articles also show that

⁶⁷ Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*, p. 30.

contemporary society presumed or expected women to be interested in motherhood, feminine patriotism and fashion (though there is some tension and contradiction between those two subjects). They were also expected to obey the laws intended to institutionalise the removal of women from politics and public life. As a result, the scope and pattern of what was deemed to be (and in many cases was) the normal female existence in Revolutionary France can be glimpsed. This view of the female sex as remote from or even anathema to the political process is also in evidence in the reports mentioning women which are examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Six.

**FEATURES WHICH MENTION OR REFER TO WOMEN (INCLUDING NEWS
REPORTS, LETTERS AND POEMS).**

This chapter is concerned with the ways in which women were portrayed in news reports and other features such as letters which were reprinted in the Revolutionary newspapers researched for this thesis. Moreover, this chapter examines the rhetorical and ideological uses to which these representations of women were put. The overriding theme appears to have been one of binding the Revolutionary community together against its enemies, who were personified as an individual woman or as a group of women. Thus the women could either be 'good', serving as an example to the newspaper's readership or they could be 'bad' and as a result could be employed as a symbol of all that was wrong with contemporary society and a symbol of what the Revolution was intended to combat. The women in the newspaper articles fell into one of several categories: wives, mothers, those who wore fashionable clothes and those who defended the Revolution physically, either against external enemies or against perceived internal foes, but there is a common thread running through the articles relating to 'bad' wives, that of intense religious feeling. This piety was also evident in the motivation of women in other reports who were involved in demonstrations against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

The first article quoted in this chapter appeared in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* and concerned Citoyenne Carrier, who was the wife of the editor of that newspaper. In 1793 someone who previously had been involved with the newspaper, a man called Laussel, was attempting to shut it down because, supposedly, it had become too moderate for his taste. This may well have been due to the fact that during the period of the Convention Nationale Citoyen Carrier was becoming critical of the Montagnards who controlled the Jacobin clubs in

Paris and Lyon¹. As a result Carrier had fled to Paris leaving a colleague, J. L. Fain as editor in his absence. It appears that Fain must also have befriended Carrier's wife and in an article which appeared in March 1793, he recounted what had happened when they went to the theatre together and were spotted by Laussel who at that time was the Procureur de la Commune of Lyon, though he was shortly to be placed under arrest because he had been denounced by four members of the Municipality of Lyon for having committed arbitrary acts².

La citoyenne Carrier, que j'accompagnois, à qui Laussel, trois jours auparavant, proposoit d'abandonner le journal, en lui promettant un dédommagement suffisant. La citoyenne Carrier s'éloignoit; ramenez *cette femme*, s'écrie le Procureur de la Commune, et nous marchons à l'hôtel Commun...Citoyens officiers Municipaux, dis-je alors, je suis le rédacteur du journal de Lyon, je présume que c'est à moi seul que *vous en voulez*, la citoyenne Carrier ne peut être en rien compromise dans ma cause; elle est enceinte de six mois, et j'aime croire que vous respecterez sa position: taisez-vous, madame n'a pas besoin de votre protection, est la seule réponse que l'on me donne...la citoyenne Carrier est la première interrogée. Où est votre mari? --- A Paris. --- A-t-il donné procuration à quelqu'un pour rédiger son journal? --- Je l'ignore. --- Le jeune homme qui vous accompagne est-il le rédacteur? --- Oui. --- Et il n'est pas autorisé du citoyen Carrier? --- Je ne sais pas; mais il ne vous en a donné pas à vous, citoyen Laussel, lorsque vous l'aviez exposé à des poursuites, pour vos *bandouliers de boyaux*.³

¹ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The Middle Years*, p. 191.

² Benoit and Saussac, *Guide Historique de la Révolution à Lyon 1789-1799*, p. 142.

³ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 8 mars 1793, pp. (205)-06. The italicised word are Fain's.

It is interesting that despite Fain's attempts to protect her, Laussel and his associates think that Citoyenne Carrier is perfectly fit to be questioned. Moreover, Laussel obviously feels that Citoyenne Carrier is a woman worth interrogating --- presumably the assumption was that her husband respected her intelligence sufficiently to keep her informed of his actions and plans as well as his whereabouts. Yet if Fain's account of her interrogation is true, Carrier's wife gave no information away (despite the strain of being six months' pregnant), thereby justifying her opponents' view of her as a capable woman. Citoyenne Carrier knew when to keep her mouth shut. In order not to provide the Procureur de la Commune with any pretext for arresting Fain and closing down her spouse's newspaper, she denies all knowledge of her husband authorising Fain to edit the journal, even though she admits that in practice the latter is the editor. Moreover, she is prepared to speak her mind to Laussel, taunting him with the reminder that Carrier never ceded control of the newspaper to him. Also, three days earlier, she had withstood Laussel urging her to abandon the newspaper in return for a considerable sum of money. Therefore, the image of Citoyenne Carrier created by Fain's account is one of a strong, determined woman who was performing her duty both as a wife to her husband and also as a citizeness to the Republic by resisting Laussel's threats.

The subject of divorce in the Revolutionary newspaper press as examined from a theoretical perspective has already been considered in this thesis (see pages 206 to 213), though of course marital breakdown in France was not merely a theoretical phenomenon but something which actually affected some couples and these practical experiences might be reported in the periodical press. In May 1792, for example, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* printed a letter concerning a marital breakdown. It reported in detail a specific case of a couple who were in the process of separation (obviously they could not have divorced at this point since the Revolutionary divorce law was not passed until September 1792). The couple were called Piogan and Pierrette Michel and they lived in the parish of Saint-Didier just outside Lyon. They were separating because of the wife's extreme religious opinions.

Le mari a exposé dans sa demande en séparation, que sa femme se livre à une conduite reprehensible en suivant les préceptes de prêtres inconstitutionnels qui on [sic] fait des ravages étonnans dans son caractere & dans sa façon de penser; qu'elle fait des efforts criminels pour suggérer les mêmes principes à ses enfans, & qu'au reste s'il habitoit davantage avec sa femme, il se verroit contraint d'abandonner son commerce de boucher, attendu qu'elle en divertit les fonds pour stipendier des prêtres.⁴

In *ancien régime* France and even in Revolutionary France before September 1792, there were five grounds for separation under civil legislation, all of which involved the husband mistreating his wife either emotionally or physically, as outlined in the previous chapter⁵. This specific case of matrimonial breakdown does not appear to fall into those categories. However, there was a dual church / state jurisdiction in eighteenth-century France concerning divorce. Under church law adultery, heresy, ill-treatment or the mutual consent of the spouses when one of them wished to take up a religious vocation were all accepted as grounds for separation⁶. The Michel case could be regarded as falling into the final category --- Pierrette's devotion to the precepts of refractory priests was perhaps a form of religious devotion. Separation of course only permitted the spouses to live apart from each other. However, when Piogan's version of events states that 's'il habitoit davantage avec sa femme, il se verroit contraint d'abandonner son commerce de boucher, attendu qu'elle en divertit les fonds pour stipendier des prêtres' there is perhaps the suggestion that he can cope with her as his wife so long as he is no longer compelled to live with her.

Piogan Michel is presented as a man using judicial separation as a way of ridding himself of a wife whose fanatical religious views, with which he does not agree, have come to threaten his livelihood and as he sees it, his children's future as citizens of the new France. He

⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 16 mai 1792, p. 6.

⁵ Phillips, *Untying the Knot*, p. 55 and c.f. chapter five, p. 206.

⁶ Phillips, *Putting Asunder*, p. 161.

regards it as the only way to protect his interests and his dependants. Pierrette Michel is not conforming to the stereotype of a 'good' wife so it is best that she be put to one side. The way in which Pierrette's own version of events is worded in the letter confirms her husband's picture:

Est aussi comparu ladite Pierrette Michel, qui a exposé en réponse aux dires & représentations de son mari, qu'il est vrai que depuis quelque temps elle s'est écartée des préceptes de la loi constitutionnelle, en suivant les leçons & les avis des prêtres non-assermentés, & notamment du sieur Curiat..., que c'est la religion qui l'y oblige, & qu'elle ne s'en écartera jamais, même au péril de sa vie. Cette femme avoue de plus avoir fait divers cadeaux à des prêtres sans l'agrément de son mari.⁷

This version of Pierrette's statement emphasises her refusal to change her ways for anything, including the sake of her marriage. She admits to having given presents to priests without the consent of her husband and apparently accepts the role of the bad wife which her spouse's report of their matrimonial difficulties has thrust on her. The Michel case was not necessarily an isolated one. As Olwen H. Hufton notes, rural women were opposed to the accelerated dechristianisation campaign of 1793-94⁸ and three years earlier they had resisted fervently the constitutional priests and the new, state-oriented Roman Catholicism which the latter represented. As a result, several marriages in the early 1790s may have experienced tensions rising to the point where separations were sought. Hébert thought women like Pierrette Michel who who adhered to the practices and views of the non-juring priesthood were the epitome of irrationality --- they were *bigotes*, *bêtes* and *femelles*, which were all abusive terms⁹. Such women were a threat to the enlightened, logical male Revolution and so had to be contained. They ought not to be allowed freedom to pursue their religious agenda.

⁷ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 16 mai 1792, p. 6.

⁸ Hufton, *Women and the limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, p. 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

There is a problem with the picture of Pierrette painted by this article, however. In a society where women found it difficult to survive alone outside the family economy and where they would have had almost no chance of supporting their children as well as themselves¹⁰, it is hard to imagine that a woman would be so willing to leave the marital unit and so it is possible that the letter is distorting Pierrette's words in order to present her in a negative light, as a selfish woman who was prepared to put her religious beliefs before the welfare of her family. Similar tactics were employed in the legal briefs relating to the Kornmann and de Sanois cases which managed to present the women involved as bad wives because of adultery in the former case and unbridled social ambition in the latter¹¹.

There is one piece of evidence relating to divorce in the newspapers examined in this thesis which comes from the late 1790s. It occurred in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* in fructidor an III (August 1795) and took the form of a humorous "Anecdote" suggesting that common sense in times of marital hardship eliminates the need for divorce. It perhaps represents a popular, anti-divorce joke and as such must be viewed against the backdrop of French society in the later 1790s in which divorce was becoming harder to obtain, as a result of the abolition of the *Tribunaux de famille* in 1796. This meant that all divorces except those by mutual consent or on the grounds of incompatibility were now heard in regular courts such as the *Tribunal Civil*. Since the parties bringing suits to these courts had to be represented by lawyers, the costs of procuring a divorce rose, thus making it too expensive for many ordinary people. The increasing cost of divorce was not the only problem. Although the 1792 divorce law was amended on 4 floréal an II (23 April 1794) by a decree permitting divorce on the grounds of *de facto* separation for six months or longer, this extra measure of freedom was suspended on 15 thermidor an III (2 August 1795). The men of the Directoire found the amendment too liberal and radical for comfort. The decree of 1795 also

¹⁰ Norberg, " 'Love and Patriotism': Gender and Politics in the Life and Work of Louvet de Couvrai", p. 50.

¹¹ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, pp. 263-309 and c.f. chapter one, pp. 43- 44.

represented a response to the fact that petitions attacking the divorce legislation were being made by an III¹². The anecdote read as follows:

Ces jours derniers, deux époux déterminés à se divorcer, et ne pouvant s'accorder sur le nombre d'enfants que chacun devoit garder, vont chez une tante respectable qu'ils prennent pour arbitre. De trois enfants que nous avons, dit le mari, c'est à moi d'en garder deux.--- Vous en avez assez d'un, reprend la femme; c'est à moi d'en avoir deux...Pour mettre fin à vos débats, dit la tante d'un ton très-grave, allez vite faire un quatrième enfant ... A ces mots, on rit, l'on s'embrasse, et il ne fut plus question de divorce.¹³

It is significant whether a man or a woman developed this story, because as mentioned in connection with Pierrette Michel, women in late-eighteenth century France did not command the level of wages which made it possible to support dependants and so it is debatable whether a woman would have represented a member of her own sex as clamouring to retain custody of two out of the three children which the marriage had produced. However, it is possible that if a woman did concoct the anecdote, her purpose in doing so was to point out that the Revolutionary divorce legislation was not necessarily as liberating to women as it was to men.

Another instance of a woman being presented as a religious fanatic who threatened the new Revolutionary community comes from Rennes in the early 1790s. The report concerned a Rennais couple who were not conforming to the model Revolutionary marriage in which the wife was supposed to accept her husband's judgements. Pierre Allais was a member of the municipal council of Rennes and as such was expected to uphold Revolutionary doctrines and ideas. As a result, when his wife was discovered to have subverted these doctrines it was the

¹² R. Phillips, *Family Breakdown in Late Eighteenth-Century France. Divorces in Rouen 1792-1803* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 42- 43 and idem., *Putting Asunder*, pp. 179, 184.

¹³ *Journal de Lyon , et du Département de Rhône*, 6 fructidor an III (23 Aug. 1795), p. 465.

cause of consternation among his colleagues on the council and of embarrassment to him. In the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* of 6 December 1791 there was a report of the council meeting held on 30 November at which Allais' wife's indiscretion was discussed.

La municipalité instruite que le sieur pierre allais, un de ses membres, a fait le plus grand acte d'incivisme, en permettant que son épouse, anne coqué, demeurante paroisse de saint-jean pourvue de curé constitutionnel, se fut [sic], dans les douleurs de l'enfantement, fait transporter le jeudi 24 de ce mois aux 4 heures du matin chez une bigotte de la rue s. nicolas, nommée marie beaugé, pour y faire ses couches & baptiser son enfant à s. nicolas par le sieur coqué, son frère, curé non-conformiste de talensac ¹⁴

Anne Coqué, his wife, had been delivered of a baby at the house of Marie Beaugé, a woman who was considered to be a religious fanatic and had had the child baptised by her brother who was a non-conforming priest, though not the priest of the parish of St. Nicholas. This meant that he had not taken the oath of loyalty to the state required of priests by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 12 July 1790 and by the decree of 27 November 1790.

Anne Coqué was thus a woman whose religious beliefs were strong and which she was not prepared to have compromised by the secularising influence of the Revolution. She was one of the rural women who resisted this influence and supported traditional French Catholicism. According to Olwen H. Hufton, women had some room for manoeuvre in such matters because the central government made male obedience to the Revolutionary laws the priority and left women's obedience to be enforced by their husbands ¹⁵.

It appears that the municipal council of Rennes held the same opinion on this subject since it asked Pierre Allais to explain his action,

¹⁴ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 6 décembre 1791, p. 423.

¹⁵ Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, p. 112.

considérant que cet acte, d'un officier public chargé du maintien de la loi, est du plus dangereux exemple pour le peuple déjà trop égaré par les insinuations perfides de ses ministres réfractaires, que le fanatisme & l'intérêt [sic] portent à troubler l'état;¹⁶

Refractory priests were a threat to the state and the Revolution and in the council's view Pierre Allais was allowing his foolish, irrational wife to support these anti-Revolutionaries in their subversive antics. The council members further refused to accept Pierre Allais' reasons for his actions,

il [Allais] a répondu que c'étoit pour ne point gêner l'opinion religieuse de son épouse, on lui a représenté qu'une pareille démarche étoit absolument scandaleuse & inconstitutionnelle, que sans gêner l'opinion religieuse de son épouse, il eût pu s'y opposer.¹⁷

obviously finding his explanation that he did not want to offend his wife's religious sensibilities unacceptable. They felt he ought to have been able to impose his views on her and to discipline her, though quite how he would have managed that without offending her religious sensibilities is not clear. However, the refractory priest to whom she turned for the baptism of her child was her brother, who perhaps exerted his influence over her as his sibling and gave her encouragement to act as she did. Is this not perhaps a case of a woman torn between the two men in her life? It calls to mind Rousseau's comment that women 'ne cessent jamais d'être assujetties ou à un homme, ou aux jugements des hommes'¹⁸.

Negative images of women and religion in the Revolutionary newspaper press also occur in relation to the various instances in 1790-91 of women acting collectively to attempt to defend the religious practices which were important to them and which they felt were

¹⁶ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 6 décembre 1791, p. 424.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹⁸ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 482.

threatened by the National Assembly's legislation relating to the Church, specifically the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. For example, there was a disturbance in the town of Fougères in the Breton département of Ille-et-Vilaine on 22 December 1790. The details were recounted in a letter written by a resident of Fougères and a few days later this letter appeared in a Rennais newspaper. According to the correspondent there were several women from the area who resisted the new ecclesiastical laws, though they were not acting on their own initiative.

Parmi les mille & une ruse que les privilégiés & les prêtres ne cessent d'employer, soit pour séduire la piété crédule, soit pour empêcher le peuple de s'instruire sur ses véritables intérêts, en voici une d'un nouveau genre.

Des *calotinocrates* femelles, guidées par leurs dignes & pieux directeurs, ont arrêté, pour s'opposer à la lecture des décrets & instructions sur la constitution civile du clergé, de se réunir pour chanter des hymnes à l'issue de la grand-messe, au moment ordinaire où l'on commenceroit cette lecture.

Cette petite ruse fut mise en oeuvre dimanche dernier, & ne le fut pas sans quelque succès. A [sic] l'instant où un notable commençoit [sic] la lecture ordonnée par le conseil-général de la commune, ces pieuses femmes se mirent à chanter: *parce, domine, parce &c.* Ces chants plaintifs occasionnèrent un grand scandale: la garde nationale, qui vouloit rétablir [sic] le calme, leur demanda, pourquoi elles chantoient ainsi contre l'usage ? *nous avons nos raisons*, répondirent-elles enflammées de colère, *tout le monde peut chanter ici, les prêtres nous l'ont permis.*¹⁹

The women who protested against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy by singing hymns at the end of high mass in order to prevent the decree and instructions relating to it being read out, are portrayed sarcastically by the writer of the letter as 'pious women' and

¹⁹ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 26 décembre 1790, p. 351. The italics are the journalist's and represent either emphasis on a particular word or the speech of the female protesters.

‘sanctimonious females’. They are viewed as having been briefed to act as they did by their spiritual advisors, that is by priests. The choice of vocabulary is informative because it was selected deliberately to degrade and belittle the women to which it referred. Words like *femelle*, which was the term employed in this letter, *femellettes*, *moutons* or *bêtes* all carried hints of stupidity, irrationality and of unjustified self-importance. These words were all frequently used by the Jacobin dictatorship to refer to peasant women in 1793-94²⁰ and by Hébert in his *Père Duchesne* at about the same period (as mentioned on page 229 above), yet some ordinary individuals were resorting to them several years earlier than that. Indeed the date of this letter, December 1790, is highly significant not only in terms of the language used by the writer, but also because it is early for a debate concerning the Civil Constitution and shows that women were taking the lead in local protests against the new legislation.

Fougères was situated in a region where the clergy refused the oath and where by 1795, the political loyalties of the inhabitants would lie with the Catholic rebels²¹. Thus someone who supported the new political regime, as the correspondent from Fougères appears to have done, would criticise the protesters for their behaviour. Perhaps the most serious charge made against the female protesters in Fougères is that they are outside the Revolutionary community (patriotic women would be considered as part of that community though not, of course, as part of the exclusively male Revolutionary brotherhood). They are outside it because under the direction of non-conformist clergymen they are helping to deprive the people of the chance to discover their true interests. Although in literal terms the women were indeed outside the Revolutionary community since they opposed the revolutionary government’s reforms, nevertheless this accusation implies that they were isolated in local society as a whole. In that sense the accusation is biased and ignores the growing opposition in western France in the early 1790s to the Revolutionary religious

²⁰ Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, pp. 99-100 and c.f. chapter four, p. 160, including footnote no. 8.

²¹ D. Sutherland, *The Chouans* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 52, 235.

reforms and thus to the Revolution itself. Especially in the Mauges region of Anjou, the sale of church properties which began at the end of 1790 or in January 1791, caused resentment amongst *curés* who started to criticise the government's policies to their parishioners. In consequence, by February 1791 there existed in the Mauges what Charles Tilly refers to as an 'ecclesiastical party' which was anti-Revolutionary and viewed the supporters of the Revolution as irreligious destroyers of the Church²². This polarisation of local society was replicated to a greater or lesser extent in other areas of western France at about the same time and it gave rise to the opposition to the Revolution which would culminate in the Vendéen war of 1793 and the massacres which accompanied it²³.

Of course the civil war in the Vendée was still a long way in the future when the episode in Fougères occurred in December 1790 but that incident contained the seeds from which the Catholic rebellion would grow and so the women who tried to prevent the Civil Constitution being proclaimed were not isolated from the rest of the local community because their actions prefigured the political and religious developments in the rest of western France in the early 1790s. The women of Fougères may have been months ahead of their time in conducting organised religious / political protest (as Tilly remarks, the religious and the political were irrevocably linked by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy²⁴), but they were far from being an anomalous minority.

The concept of bigoted women menacing the Revolution's ideals of freedom from superstition and of releasing the *peuple* from the chains of ignorance, is also expressed in another letter which was printed in the same newspaper as the missive from Fougères. If anything, the situation regarding the Catholic Church in Revolutionary Brittany was even worse by the time this other letter appeared than it had been a few months earlier. This was because in mid-January 1791 all *curés* and *vicaires* in Rennes were supposed to take the oath

²² Tilly, *The Vendée* (1964), pp. 229-32.

²³ For more information on the Vendéen war, see Tilly, *The Vendée*, chapter thirteen.

²⁴ Tilly, *The Vendée*, p. 230.

of loyalty to the Civil Constitution²⁵ and so the religious divisions within local society became concrete. Due to the fact that a mere seventeen per cent of the priests and curates of the diocese of Rennes had agreed to take the oath²⁶, the parishes of Rennes had been suppressed, including that of St. Germain and this measure aroused the hostility of a good deal of the women of the parish who decided to give vent to their anger.

*Nous avons vu avec douleur la scène tumultueuse de saint germain, Les femmes qui en ont été les auteurs étoient sans doute excitées par les ennemis de la chose publique, puisque leurs maris n'ont pris aucune part à ce désordre. Il est plus aisé de détromper des femmes que des citoyens qui s'instruisent chaque jour des principes de la constitution, & peuvent en apprécier les avantages. Nous desirons bien que la paix ne puisse être troublée.*²⁷

Apparently, the enemies of public order who were the instigators of the unrest find women easier to manipulate than male citizens who are aware of the advantages which the Revolution has brought to them.

The letter's authors were politicians or connected to the political world in some way (Messieurs Lancelot, Fermon and Lanjuinais were members of the Correspondence Bureau of Rennes, which was stationed in Paris and, as explained in chapter two, sent details of the sessions of the National Assembly and later of those of the Convention Nationale to its home city). This fact must be remembered when analysing their depiction of the women of the parish of St. Germain as nothing more than silly females who knew no better than to adhere to narrow-minded, prejudiced religious beliefs and practices when reform was obviously required and was being introduced. Although the men in Paris were unlikely to have perceived

²⁵ T. Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 4-5.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 368.

²⁷ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 29 mars 1791, p. 90. This quotation has been reproduced as it appeared in the newspaper text.

it, the women's actions definitely had their own logic, much as in the case of females who participated in the disturbances in Sommières near Nîmes in January 1791. That incident involved women throwing rocks at the local clerk of the court and bailiff and beating the mayor because they thought that the clerk and bailiff had come to force the parish clergymen to swear the oath²⁸. It was not only Breton women who could be violent when defending their faith.

The logic behind such behaviour was as follows. Since the physical church building was, in addition to being a symbol of God's power, akin to a community centre for eighteenth-century French women, a place where they could meet friends and neighbours and thus create feminine social networks, the suppression of parishes inevitably would disrupt the lives of those women in the affected areas. Religious observance would become almost impossible for them as they would not be able to make their confession and so obtain absolution, or receive the sacraments and furthermore an important opportunity for socialising would be lost. Devotions could no longer be made at the feet of any saints of whom there was a statue in their church and neither at those of the Virgin Mary and as a result women in suppressed parishes might not be protected from illness and disaster by heavenly grace and Divine intervention. These were serious considerations, particularly for single or widowed women who perhaps had no other support networks on which to rely. As for pregnant women, they faced potentially fatal situations in the form of childbirth and in consequence were also in need of the healing power of the Almighty and the multitude of saints. Obstetrics obviously were less advanced then than now and death during and after the birth was hardly uncommon. Even if mother and baby both survived the birth, the child might die in infancy and the mother would feel this danger vividly. Effective sacraments were vital in assisting the child to reach adulthood but as Ruth Graham remarks, conformist *curés* were regarded by many rural women as outsiders with no proven record of success as a channel for God's grace and

²⁸ T. Tackett, "Women and Men in Counterrevolution: The Sommières Riot of 1791", *Journal of Modern*

deliverance²⁹, unlike the incumbent, refractory clergy. This suspicion of the Constitutional clergy was accompanied by the idea, promoted by the refractory element in the Gallican Church, that the blessings and sacraments performed by conformist priests would not be recognised by God and as a result would be useless. Such a thought was terrifying to a great deal of the female population, though that terror would readily be understood by men, too. However since it was a primarily feminine, maternal fear it was something which male politicians and administrators, including the members of the Correspondence Bureau of Rennes, would not allow to stand in the way of Revolutionary policy.

This anxiety explains why some groups of females were so determined to protect the spiritual refuge provided by the *ancien régime* Gallican Church with which they were familiar. Therefore, a parallel emerges between those Breton women who resisted the implementation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the pro-Revolutionary women of the Vendée and adjoining regions who helped to rebuff attacks on their towns by Royalist rebels. Both sets of females acted as they did due to a desire to defend their lifestyles and communities, despite being on opposite sides of the political divide.

Religious tension in France in the early 1790s was not confined to Brittany, though it was particularly common there. In addition, Lyon and its surrounding area was witnessing incidents which, according to local pro-Revolutionary journalists were disturbing and ought to be opposed by all right-minded citizens. A piece in an issue of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* in the "Clergé" section recounted one such incident.

Le Curé de Bessey, nommé Font, déjà cité dans nos feuilles, dit,
il y a quelques jours à une mere-nourrice [sic]: que faites vous malheureuse,
de cet enfant baptisé par un chismatique; c'est un serpent que vous

History, 59 (1987), pp. 680-704, pp. 680-81.

²⁹ R. Graham, "Women versus Clergy, Women pro Clergy" in Spencer (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 128-40, p. 135.

rechauffez dans votre sein; que deviendra-t-il ? un reprouvé. Cette femme effrayée, dépose vite ce petit infortuné, elle ne voit plus en lui le fruit de ses entrailles, son imagination égarée ne lui laisse appercevoir qu'un tison d'enfer; elle fuit...envain les accens plaintifs, & les cris de son fils l'appellent; que peuvent la nature & la raison contre le délire du fanatisme. Lecteur pardonnez je ne puis ici retenir mes larmes...l'enfant fut trouvé mort. Pauvre petit infortuné ! puisse le recit de ta lamentable histoire porter dans le coeur de ceux qui me lisent, toute la sensibilité dont le mien est pénétré. Ta mort crie vengeance, puisse-t-elle provoquer la foudre de nos législateurs, sur les réfractaires & nos directoires, & nos tribunaux, qui en sont les plus déclarés protecteurs. Et vous peuple, dormes-vous [sic] ? ³⁰

This report of a mother having abandoned her child because a refractory priest told her it would be damned due to its having been baptised by a constitutional priest, lays the pathos and the journalist's sense of moral outrage on as thickly as possible. Words and phrases such as 'the delirium of fanaticism' and 'poor little mite' are designed to elicit a response from the reader which involves pity for the child and condemnation for the mother, who has ignored reason and nature. Various cultural strands contribute to the journalist's literary style, including that of the literary figure of the unnatural, ignorant mother, a character who had also appeared in various pre-Revolutionary novels ³¹. Yet, though the mother in the report in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* incurs the journalist's wrath by abandoning her child, her action reflects the importance attached to rites of baptism by contemporary women, even *sans-culottes* women. For instance, when the church of Saint Eustache was desecrated about two hundred women defended its baptismal chapel ³².

³⁰ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 29 août 1791, p. 3.

³¹ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 120.

³² Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, p. 102.

Another report in the same newspaper a few months later also conveyed the message that religious women were antithetical to the new, virtuous regime which had been established by the Revolution. This time the report concerned a supposed prophetess in the parish of Chavanay.

Une grande prophétesse paroît parmi nous; c'est la grangère d'un domaine, situé au hameau de la grande Gorge, paroisse de Chavanay, appartenant au sieur Rivery, bourgeois de Lyon. Les paysans se rendent en foule, de 3 ou 4 lieues à la ronde, auprès d'elle pour s'enquerir de la demeure en l'autre monde, de leurs défunts parens. Voici à peu près comment cette nouvelle Sybille rend ses oracles: elle fait mettre à genoux ceux que la curiosité attire dans sa caverne, prononce quelque parole de grimoire, & leur demande si les morts pour lesquels on s'intéresse ont été administrés dans leur dernière maladie par un jureur; la réponse à cette question amène l'oracle, une voix sourde & roulante dans les entrailles de la prophétesse damne sans rémission tous les confiés & administrés des jureurs, & loge en purgatoire les autres, bien entendu que pour les soustraire à la grillade, il faut payer largement des prières & des messes; la Sybille reçoit les rétributions, & s'arrange ensuite avec le réfractaire, ci-devant curé de Chavanay.

Qu'une femme ventriloque, faisant la magicienne, ait pu venir à bout d'en imposer aux bons & crédules habitans des campagnes, il n'y a rien là de surprenant ! il n'y a pas long-temps que les farces fanatiques des convulsionnaires ont cessé dans cette ville, où les lumières sont pourtant plus généralement répandues qu'à la campagne; & peut-être même continueroient-elles encore si les oratoriens, directeurs du spectacle n'avoient été distraits par la révolution, mais ce qui devrait plutôt nous surprendre, c'est le silence des directoires, qui auroient dû déjà admonester la municipalité du lieu, qui

donne les mains à cette indécente momerie qui peut avoir les suites les plus dangereuses.³³

This 'prophetess' is in fact, says the journalist, nothing more than a fraudster since she tells the relatives of any deceased person who was given the last rites by a constitutional priest that the person is damned and the only way to save their soul is to pay for masses to be said. She then gives the profits of her enterprise to the refractory former curé of Chavanay. The readiness of the peasants to believe that this woman might actually be able to commune with the dead is perhaps linked to the way in which people in rural France regarded women as possessing powers of sorcery³⁴ and the journalist remarks that their gullibility is hardly suprising, considering that the towns are more enlightened than the countryside. Yet, as with the young woman who abandoned her baby, a reader of this report is left in no doubt that the existence of a woman such as this prophetess can only be damaging to the Revolution and the nation.

The critical remarks about religiously minded women contained in the two reports just quoted were echoed by Jacques-René Hébert in *Le Père Duchesne*. He was critical of pious women, regarding them as irrational and backward. In one issue in particular, he depicted a neighbour of the Père Duchesne as a religious zealot:

L'autre jour je fumois ma pipe au coin de mon feu...quand tout-à-coup,
foudre une veille [sic] édentée du voisinage, une dévote à trente-six karats
vient nous montrer sa face de carême et m'ennuyer de ses contes à dormir
debout. Mère Duchesne, s'écrioit-elle en joignant les mains et en s'adressant
à ma Jacqueline, qu'allons-nous donc devenir, on ne connoît plus dieu ni ses
saints ? On détruit la religion. ! Ah que le bon dieu doit être en colère !
miséricorde ! le jour du jugement va sans doute arriver. Je crois entendre la
trompette; je crois voir les morts sortir de leurs tombeaux; il me semble que je

³³ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 31 octobre 1791, pp. 2-3.

³⁴ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 110.

suis déjà dans la vallée de Josaphat et que le fils de dieu s'avance sur un nuage pour nous juger tous.

Pardine, c'est grand dommage, riposte ma Jacqueline; vous voyez que la fin du monde va arriver, parce qu'on fout de côté toute la bougre de calotte. N'y avoit-il pas assez de tems qu'elle nous embêtoit ?...Je ne crois pas plus à [son] enfer et à [son] paradis qu'à Jean-de-Vert. S'il existe un dieu, ce qui n'est pas trop clair, il ne nous a pas créé pour nous tourmenter, mais pour être heureux.³⁵

As with the report about the prophetess, many of the phrases used in this piece are designed to mock women who support refractory priests (or indeed any priests at all, in the case of the *Père Duchesne*). In the article about the prophetess words such as 'grimoire', which means 'mumbo jumbo' were used and in the above piece Hébert calls the religious woman a 'dévoté'. Again, the overriding theme is of irrational, superstitious women clinging to primitive, uncivilised beliefs which ought to have been eradicated by the Revolution.

Motherhood was another theme which occurred in the reports mentioning women which were published in the newspapers surveyed for this thesis. Two of these articles involved three Breton women who made speeches to the Société des Amis de la Constitution in Rennes and in Brest in 1791 (or in one case possibly late 1790) in which they declared their loyalty to the Revolution and stated their determination to work towards its continued success in a way which effectively reinforced the male Revolutionaries' depiction of women's primary role as nurturing mothers. In April 1791, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* featured a report of a meeting of the Société des Amis de la Constitution of Brest which took place in either late 1790 or early 1791. (There is no date on the report of the meeting and although the issue in which the report appeared was dated 26 April the meeting itself could have occurred months before, especially considering that the news had to travel from Brest to Rennes where the newspaper was published.) A group of *citoyennes* had come to the Société's meeting to

³⁵ *Le Père Duchesne*, Nov. 1793, pp. 1-2, 4.

declare their faith in the Revolution and the president of the Société had introduced several members of the deputation to the assembly. One of the chosen few, Madame Pradier, made a speech in which, among other things, she referred to women's role as mothers.

“ Nous savons que notre sort est tellement lié à celui
 “ de nos...enfants, qu'ils ne peuvent être heureux ou malheureux, libres
 “ ou esclaves, sans que leur opprobre ou leur gloire ne devienne notre
 “ partage;...& nous promettons encore de ne reconnoître pour parens,
 “ & de n'admettre au rang de nos amis & de nos époux, que les bons citoyens,
 “ seuls partisans de la libetté [sic], de l'égalité [sic] & de la justice, qui, sous les
 “ auspices de nos loix, consacreront leurs travaux & leurs veilles à la prospérité
 “ de la patrie.

“ Tels sont, messieurs, les sentiments que nous saurons inspirer à nos
 “ enfans, & dans lesquels nous sommes bien résolues de vivre & de mourir.”³⁶

Madame Pradier thus seems to accept and even to welcome the Revolutionary ideal of the virtuous mother whose contribution to the Revolution is one of producing and rearing the next generation of *citoyens* and (though this would not have been as much emphasised), *citoyennes*. She says that women's fate is inevitably linked to that of their offspring --- whether their children are happy and free or unhappy and enslaved, they as mothers share their lot in life. Not only that, but she goes on to remark that she and other women like her will instil in their children the values of liberty, freedom and justice. She therefore applauds the Revolutionary maternal ideal as a way in which she can contribute to the new French society. It is significant how many women, even those who joined female clubs, saw motherhood as an important field of political action for women. For instance, the women of Lille swore an oath at the local Jacobin club in which they promised to inculcate the principles of liberty and equality in their children. The members of the women's clubs established in such places as

³⁶ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 26 avril 1791.

Nantes and Bordeaux promised to teach their children the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Constitution³⁷. In consequence, Madame Pradier fitted into this pattern of women viewing motherhood as a method of working for the Revolution without stepping beyond the boundaries of conventional feminine behaviour and thereby breaking the behavioural code for women laid down by the male Revolutionaries.

At about the same time, on 22 January and 22 May 1791, two women spoke to the Rennes branch of the Société des Amis de la Constitution along similar lines and a report of their speeches appeared in the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* in May of that year. Madame Codet, who had made her speech in January, declared,

Citoyenne, je me suis acquitée envers ma patrie en lui donnant un fils
que je me suis attaché à élever dans les principes qui forment les citoyens
utiles. Puisse-t-il un jour, instruit par vos leçons, formé par vos exemples,
& animé du beau feu de votre patriotisme, mériter l'estime & la
reconnaissance de ses concitoyens, & devenir la couronne de sa mère.³⁸

She expresses a fundamental link between the idea of being a *citoyenne* and the duty to provide the state with future citizens who have been reared on a mental diet of Revolutionary morals and principles. Madame Codet expects to be praised and respected for having fulfilled her feminine duty with regard to the contemporary pro-natalist state policies --- she says that one day when her son is a fully-grown *citoyen* he will be her crowning glory. In this way she echoes Rousseau when he wrote

Fondé sur des conséquences que donne le plus simple raisonnement, et
sur des observations que je n'ai jamais vues démenties, j'ose promettre
à ces dignes mères un attachement solide et constant de la part de leurs

pp. 294 -95. The quotation marks appeared in the original newspaper text, denoting that this was a speech.

³⁷ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 62.

³⁸ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 26 mai 1791, p. 70.

maris, une tendresse vraiment filiale de la part de leurs enfants, l'estime et le respect du public³⁹

Women's families and the nation as a whole would honour them for having donned the maternal mantle and blessed the *patrie* with sons (both literally as in the case of baby boys and figuratively as in the case of children of both sexes). Indeed, contemporary commentators might even go so far as to say that for women to receive any recognition from society, they would have to be good, fertile mothers. Pierre Roussel wrote that woman 'is only worthy of the rank that she occupies when, after having ornamented it [the state] with her charms, she contributes to increasing its force by giving it vigorous and healthy citizens'⁴⁰.

In May 1791, several months after Madame Codet had spoken, Madame Prigent took the stand and addressed the Société. In an echo of the words of Madame Pradier from Brest, she said

Tels sont, messieurs, les sentimens que nous nous faisons gloire de professer, & que nous saurons inspirer à nos enfans: comme nous, ils aimeront de bonnes loix, qni [sic] vont faire le bonheur & la prospérité du royaume, & qui rendront tous les français humains & vertueux.⁴¹

Thus these three Breton women embrace the Revolutionary feminine ideal of the modest, devoted mother who confines herself to the home. For each of them their maternal duties are paramount. They define these duties as providing the new French state with its next generation of citizens, teaching their children Revolutionary principles and exemplifying Revolutionary virtues themselves so as to enable them to rear their children as good *citoyens* and *citoyennes*. Motherhood as perceived by them constitutes a legitimate way of acting on the Revolutionary stage or, more accurately, of contributing to the Revolution whilst remaining, supposedly, in the place designated for them by the male Revolutionaries.

³⁹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 59.

⁴¹ *Journal des Départemens, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 26 mai 1791.

As Joan B. Landes points out, though, this thinking was flawed inherently because the Revolutionary / Republican concept of motherhood was based on the claims of nature which declared that women were private, emotional, weak creatures who could not play a part in the male world of politics⁴². The term 'nature' could therefore function as a conservative social force as well as a radical one because it could be used, and in fact was used, to deny the female sex equal political status to men in society. Indeed, the eighteenth century witnessed the evolution of a debate about the meaning of 'nature' as an ethical force. Within Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* for instance, there is an ideological conflict between the concept of a natural moral order in which everything happens providentially and the concept of nature as a potentially destructive force. Writers such as Diderot and Laclos emphasised the negative aspect of nature by portraying it as at best morally neutral and at worst, selfish, savage and amoral⁴³.

It is unlikely that Pradier's, Codet's and Prigent's manifestations of patriotic motherhood were more a rural phenomenon than an urban one because women in cities like Lyon and Paris were expressing the same sentiments. For example, as militant a woman as Claire Lacombe, who felt that she herself was exempt from the restrictions placed on wives and mothers since she was a single woman, instructed other women not to emulate her. Instead of going out and fighting the enemies of the *patrie*, she urged them to stay at home and bring up their children to love the Revolution⁴⁴.

Less than a year prior to the siege of Lyon, some of the city's female population had established a women's club. The minutes of one of the club's meetings appeared in two separate issues of a Lyon newspaper, the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, giving the names of some of the members of the society, details of the topics which they discussed

p. 71.

⁴² Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, p. 138.

⁴³ A. E. Pilkington, " 'Nature' as Ethical Norm in the Enlightenment" in L. J. Jordanova (ed.), *Languages of Nature* (1986), pp. 51-85, p. 67 ff.

⁴⁴ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 61.

during this session and also extracts of individual speeches. The minutes were in both cases printed under the title of “Club Des Femmes”. The articles concerned the meeting held on 30 December 1792 and which was held in the presence of all three regional administrative bodies, those of the département, the district and the municipality. Though this was not the club’s first meeting, it was the first occasion on which its activities had been reported in the newspaper and so the opening paragraphs of the article, which constituted an introduction to the minutes, laid out the reasons for its creation.

Tandis qu’oublant leur institution & leurs devoirs, la majeure partie des sociétés populaires abandonne le travail avide de l’instruction & les discussions utiles pour se livrer aux querelles de l’amour propre [sic], & s’enrôler sous la bannière [sic] des ambitieux égoïstes [sic], une société de meres [sic] de familles, qui dans un asyle respectable se préparent par des conférences instructives aux devoirs sacrés que la patrie leur impose, qui étudient les formes de notre nouveau gouvernement, inspirent à leurs enfants l’amour de la patrie, le respect des loix, la conservation de leurs droits & l’observation fidelle de leurs devoirs, une telle société a droit sans doute à nos hommages.⁴⁵

The purposes for which the women’s club was founded were those of preparing its members to perform the duties expected of them by the Republic and also of enabling them to study the new, Republican government in its various forms. A club of this sort is of great significance, according to whoever wrote these lines, at a time when most political associations and societies have become more interested in petty squabbling than in educating their members and having useful discussions. Therefore, the Lyon women who joined this club apparently wished to be politically aware and active in civic life, just as their male counterparts

⁴⁵ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 9 janvier 1793, pp. 25-26.

were. They seemed to regard themselves as having a vital role to play in local society and wanted to take their duties seriously.

However, the writer of the introductory paragraphs does adopt a rather Rousseauist attitude by implying that as women their civic function was different to that of men. The members of the club are described as mothers who congregate in a respectable retreat in order to learn how to be better citizenesses. The choice of words has overtones of almost apolitical assemblies of matrons whose main concern was with their own moral improvement rather than with any pressing civic concerns. This impression is reinforced by the later statement that one of the club members' primary objectives is to teach their children to love the fatherland, respect its laws and to defend their rights. In fact many Revolutionary female political associations had charitable, social issues as their main field of activity. In the case of the Jacobin women's auxiliary associations the members had to restrict themselves to educational and social aims because they had no political influence⁴⁶. Ironically, these aims meant that the Jacobin women's groups were close relations of the avowed welfare societies founded in Rennes and Morlaix in 1791. The women of the society in Rennes aimed, in conjunction with the bishop and local parish priests, to care for the city's poor in general whilst the Morlaix association was particularly concerned with the poverty-stricken pregnant women of the community and their children⁴⁷. Thus, a similar depiction of the Lyon club ought not to be considered unusual or necessarily inaccurate. For example, the women who constituted the supposedly political Amies de la Vérité et de l'Egalité of Besançon which developed from the town's Jacobin Club in the autumn of 1792, were as concerned with organising a workshop for poor, unemployed women and with assisting in the provision of nursing in local hospitals as they were with politics⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club in the French Revolution. The First Years*, p. 98.

⁴⁷ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 24 juillet 1791, p. 87 and supplement to *ibid.*, 24 septembre 1791, p. 596.

⁴⁸ Mills, " 'Recasting the Pantheon' ? Women and the French Revolution", p. 96.

One of the first things to be mentioned in the *procès-verbaux* is that the club's president and various of its members made speeches, many of which were addressed to the municipal representatives present at that meeting:

La citoyenne Charton présidente...a adressé [aux trois Corps administratifs] un discours où elle a peint à quel point leurs places les obligent de s'occuper du bonheur de leurs compatriotes, qui fera leur gloire & leur félicité. La citoyenne Charpine a pris la parole, & a démontré aux magistrats du peuple combien il étoit urgent d'engager l'évêque Lamourette à faire un nouveau catéchisme où les enfants puissent connoître la grandeur de l'être suprême & les principes du vrai républicain. La citoyenne Pere est montée à la tribune, & a fait un discours dans lequel elle a démontré que nous devons notre glorieuse révolution aux philosophes qui nous ont devancé, & combien il est urgent de propager les sociétés populaires; où la jeunesse pourra s'instruire des loix [sic] nouvelles, elle a prouvé combien on doit à la jeunesse d'encouragements. La citoyenne Machezot a adressé aux magistrats du peuple un discours dans lequel après avoir appelé toute leur attention sur cette grande cité, elle leur promet au nom de l'Assemblée à la fin de leurs fonctions *la récompense des vrais républicains, la gloire d'avoir bien mérité de la patrie*. La citoyenne Giraudin leur a témoigné combien l'Assemblée étoit satisfaite de les posséder...La jeune citoyenne Robin est montée à la tribune, & a récité *le chapitre 7 du contrat social de J. J. ROUSSEAU, une partie du chapitre 8 du même livre, les droits de l'homme, & une priere* [sic] *patriotique*.⁴⁹

The women who joined this club clearly were not afraid to speak their minds, even when municipal councillors and other officials were in the room. The speeches of Citoyennes Charton and Machezot are especially significant in terms of local politics since they both refer

⁴⁹ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 9 janvier 1793, p. 26. The italicised

to the public acclaim which will be due to the municipal representatives if the latter fulfil their duties to the citizenry properly. Citoyenne Pere's oratory is perhaps the most intellectually advanced, combining as it does admiration for the Revolution with a declaration that it is the work of the *philosophes* which has enabled the new political order to come into being. As for Citoyenne Charpine, her speech is the one which seeks immediate, direct action on the part of those in power, because she stresses the urgent need for a new catechism which will inculcate Republican virtues in children.

The fact that the education of the young is a recurrent theme in two of the speeches could be used as evidence to support the argument that the journalist was correct to portray the women's club as some sort of mother's association, concerned first and foremost with raising their children to be good citizens. It is undoubtedly true that women like Citoyenne Charpine were anxious to see that adequate measures were taken to safeguard the future of the next generation of Republicans, because she and presumably a large proportion of the other club members were indeed mothers (the younger Citoyenne Charpine is later mentioned as having recited the *Droits de l'Homme*). Citoyenne Pere was also interested in this issue, since she advocated the establishment of additional political societies, where young people could learn about the laws of their country. Whether she was referring to both sexes or solely to young males when she made this remark, is not clear. These women were seeking a voice in local civic life as **women**, with **feminine** concerns and there was nothing passive about their citizenship.

The theme of women and especially mothers playing a vital part in the life of a Republic was also present in a speech made by Femme Monic to a meeting of the *Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires* in Paris in the autumn of 1793. Femme Monic depicted the female sex as having been instrumental in the liberation of various countries and races:

I will say to these men who think they are our masters: Who delivered Judea and Syria from the tyranny of Holofernes ? Judith. To whom did Rome owe her liberty and the Republic ? To two women. Who were those who gave the final lesson in courage to the Spartans ? Mothers and wives, who, in handing them their shields, said only these words: Return home borne upon your shield or bearing it.⁵⁰

This Parisienne *citoyenne* and Républicaine Révolutionnaire emphasises the civic role of mothers, but gives examples of women's actions which concentrate on direct political involvement rather than on teaching their children to love their Republic and to serve it. In so doing, she appears to be at odds with the members of the female political club in Lyon, which would indicate a division between Paris and the provinces in terms of beliefs about women's roles. She also seems to disagree with the women of the Parisian Section des Droits de l'homme, one of whom regarded the Républicaines Révolutionnaires as a primarily educational association to which 'mothers, wives, and children come...to be instructed and to be inspired together to practise social virtues.'⁵¹ The feminine civic function, according to this Parisienne, is one of promoting Republican morality and training the next generation of citizens.

The sentimental view of maternity, combined with the concept of patriotic motherhood, is also evident in a poem entitled "Chant funèbre d'une mère sur le tombeau de son fils, mort pour la liberté" which was written in Lyon and printed in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* in nivôse an II (December 1793). The poem's subject is a distraught mother grieving for her dead son.

Réveille-toi, mon fils, à mes accens;

⁵⁰ Taken from *procès-verbaux* of a meeting of the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires, which are reprinted in D. G. Levy, H. B. Applewhite and M. D. Johnson (eds.), *Women in Revolutionary Paris 1789-1795* (Urbana, 1979), pp. 166-71, pp. 167-68.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 176.

Viens sécher les pleurs d'une mère:

Appui qu'en vain espéroient mes vieux ans,

Qui consolera ma misère?... (bis.)

Gage sacré de nos chastes amours,

Quand mes soins formoient ton enfance,

Dieux! m'écriai-je, ah! veillez sur ses jours,

Son bonheur est ma récompense!...

Mais tu reviens des ombres du trépas

Consoler mon ame [sic] attendrie:

Ton sang me dit: Mère, ne pleure pas

Ton fils mourant pour la patrie...

A ma douleur pardonne, ô mon pays

Elle ne te fait pas injure;

Laisse couler quelques pleurs sur un fils!

Mon coeur les doit à la nature...

Que ma patrie épuise encor [sic] ce flanc,

Je suis républicaine et mère;

La liberté va me payer mon sang,

Et consolera ma misère.⁵²

This woman is sorrowing for her dead son, to whom she was greatly attached emotionally. In the second stanza she says that when she cared for him in his infancy, her

⁵² Supplement to *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 3 nivôse an II (23

reward was his happiness. She begs to be allowed to shed a few tears over his death since her heart owes it to nature. Yet the reader is left in no doubt that she is a citizeness who is prepared to sacrifice her child for the sake of her country and for freedom. As she remarks, the *patrie* can exhaust her womb again because she is a *républicaine* and a mother. The two roles are linked closely since the best way to perform the duties of the former is to become the latter. In addition, she says that freedom will repay her for the blood she has shed (it is unclear whether she is here referring to the blood she will shed when she gives birth again or to her son's blood, which is by extension her own) and console her in her misery. The poem thus echoes Etta Palm d'Aelders when she asked 'To give to the future generation healthy and robust men; oh! is that not the field of honour where we must gather our laurels?'⁵³ and also a song written in honour of the women who had worked hard to prepare for the *fête civique* of 14 July 1790, which included the lines:

To be worthy of the *Patrie*
 More still do you it owe
 Don't border there your duty
 Give us some little heroes.⁵⁴

The self-sacrificial element to Revolutionary and especially Republican maternal ideals which is expressed in the poem was highlighted before the Revolution by, interestingly, a journal which was at that time owned by a woman. Under Madame de Montanclos the *Journal des Dames* linked motherhood and patriotism, invoking images of Roman and Spartan motherhood which placed love of one's offspring and love of one's country on an equal footing⁵⁵ and which on occasion might involve sacrificing the former for the sake of the latter. The descriptions by Cicero, Livy and Plutarch of the mothers of Antiquity inspired

Dec. 1793), p. 191. The word 'bis' is reproduced as it appears in the newspaper.

⁵³ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 59.

⁵⁴ Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution*, p. 58. The emphasis on the word 'Patrie' is the work of the Revolutionary lyricist.

⁵⁵ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, p. 60 and Gelbart, "The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press".

admiration for these models of virtuous femininity in the young Manon Phlipon and the example of the Sabine women was also frequently invoked ⁵⁶.

It would be interesting to know whether the poem was written by a woman or a man. Despite the poem's subject being a woman, the poet was not necessarily female. Instead, it is possible that it was the work of a man, one of the Jacobins who were in control of Lyon in December 1793. The man's aim as a poet was to inspire the Lyonnais women to emulate the Republican models of femininity. Whatever the sex of the poet, though, this poem and that from Paris written by Citoyenne Hémery (discussed in chapter four ⁵⁷) show women viewing motherhood in a sentimental, affective light. Indeed, the woman in the poem from the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* worships actively at the shrine of the concept of Republican motherhood.

Another positive image of a Republican mother, though not a militant Jacobin one, appeared in an issue of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* which appeared in ventôse an III (March 1795) there was the report of Veuve Perronnet's speech to the *Tribunal militaire* which was in session in Grenoble. Her husband had been murdered the previous January by a former judge of one of the judicial courts established in Lyon during the period of the Jacobin occupation of the city. She wanted justice.

J'ai perdu mon mari par la main d'un assassin. Mère de deux enfans
en bas âge, je vous demande justice en leur nom.

Le C. Grandmaison, ci-devant juge d'un des tribunaux de sang
établi à Lyon; le C. Grandmaison, l'un des chauds partisans des exécutions
féroces qui ont moissonné dans nos murs tant d'innocentes victimes...est
cet assassin qui a couvert de deuil deux enfans et leur mère.

Depuis que la justice est à l'ordre du jour, depuis qu'un cri général

p. 64.

⁵⁶ H. T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: a Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (New York, 1965), p. 53 ff and Badinter, *The Myth of Motherhood. An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct*, p. 155.

⁵⁷ C.f. chapter four, pp. 175-80.

de proscription s'est fait entendre contre tous les Cannibales et les hommes de sang, le C. Grandmaison va d'un pas chancelant, tout lui porte ombrage, il craint que chaque qu'il rencontre ne lui reproche la mort de son père, de sa mère, de ses enfans, ou de ses amis...Le 13 nivôse dernier, Grandmaison traversant la place de l'Egalité, à 9 heures du soir, prétend avoir entendu tirer un coup de pistolet. Il se persuade que c'est contre lui qu'il est dirigé. Le sabre à la main, il court; le premier homme qu'il rencontre, c'est le malheureux Perronnet, mon mari, journalier, âgé de 29 ans. Perronnet n'avait point d'armes. Grandmaison fond sur lui, le blesse en plusieurs endroits, et le fait conduire, baigné dans son sang, dans la prison de l'hôpital...Privé de tout secours, il meurt, le onzième jour, de ses blessures.⁵⁸

Madame Perronnet clearly feels that she and her children have been wronged and they need to be recompensed for the loss of their father and therefore of the main family breadwinner. As mentioned previously, widows were often left in very impoverished circumstances in which to raise their children⁵⁹. That she is portrayed as a woman who has suffered a great injustice is to be expected in a paper like the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* because the man who killed him was associated with the Jacobin occupation, a regime which the newspaper vilified.

The supplement to a fashion bulletin in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* in which the journalist criticised the fickle world of female fashion has already been examined in chapter five. Yet in the same newspaper just a few months before that feature appeared, there was another article on the subject of women and clothing. A male correspondent and subscriber to the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* also felt that women were at their most beautiful when wearing simple clothes. Such clothes would highlight their physical

⁵⁸ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 16 ventôse an III (6 March 1795), pp. (37)-38.

⁵⁹ C.f. chapter three, p. 141.

loveliness rather than mask it. In making this assertion, he criticised the Lyonnais textile industries for producing overdressed, inelegant females (and males).

Nos ayeux [sic] mettoient toute leur vanité à se parer des riches étoffes de leurs fabriques, & ne souffroient pas que leurs femmes en usassent autrement. Que nous importe l'intérêt de nos manufactures ? L'élégance [sic] & le bon goût valent bien l'utilité & cent fois mieux encore. Une femme a bien plus d'attraits dans un simple négligé de bazin anglais, elle est bien plus parée sous l'élégante mousseline des Indes;⁶⁰

The subscriber attacks the forebears of the contemporary inhabitants of Lyon for having worn and manufactured costly fabrics and also for having required their wives to adopt such expensive, sumptuous tastes in dress. In his opinion the main motive behind the actions of these men was a desire to protect the Lyon textile industries. Yet although this motive was beneficial to silk weavers and other textile workers and entrepreneurs, it was damaging to the ideals of elegance and 'good' taste since it caused the female sex to dress in a vulgar way. Delicacy and sophistication have been sacrificed to supposed economic necessity.

It is significant that men as well as women are castigated by the correspondent, though not by the journalist who wrote the commentary featured in chapter five⁶¹, for having poor, gaudy taste in dress since in the late 1790s as in earlier decades when elaborate, exaggerated costumes were in vogue, French men were likely to sport masculine versions of them⁶². An interest in fashion is not simply a feminine phenomenon and this concept is supported by statistics relating to the purchase of items of clothing in the eighteenth century. From 1750 onwards, the value of the clothes in women's wardrobes grew between five and ten times more rapidly than that of the clothes in their husbands'; by 1789 a Parisian artisan might own

⁶⁰ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 3 pluviôse, an V (22 Jan. 1797), p. 454.

⁶¹ C.f. chapter five, pp. 200-02.

⁶² A. Ribeiro, "Fashion in the Eighteenth Century: Some Anglo-French Comparisons", *Textile History*, 22, no. 2 (1991), pp. 329-45, p. 342.

fifteen items of clothing worth thirty-eight livres, but his wife's wardrobe would consist of up to fifty items, with a possible value of 346 livres⁶³.

Therefore, the journalist in the previous chapter and the subscriber agreed that the subject of women and the world of consumerism could be a problematic one and yet in addition both regarded a smart, elegant female as someone to be admired and adored. The subscriber may criticise luxuriant, gaudy garments but he does not argue that what women wear is of no consequence. On the contrary, his descriptions of a 'simple négligée of English stuff' or an 'elegant Indian muslin' show that he attaches great significance to feminine style and beauty, it is just that he defines a beautiful, stylish woman as one who favours pure, uncluttered lines and plain fabrics for her clothing. He supports the idea of 'elegant simplicity', a simplicity which was in harmony with 'nature' and which was becoming a sign of good taste in late-eighteenth-century Europe⁶⁴. The only difference between the views offered by these two men of the relationship that women have with fashion is that the journalist believes that the relationship could have implications for the French nation whilst the subscriber sees the difficulties with fashion as economic and commercial ones.

Another example of how much a natural, healthy female toilette was valued in the Revolutionary decade occurs in a miscellaneous article in the *Journal du Dép. d'Ille* in 1798 which was penned by someone living in Paris (since they refer to the local women as 'our Parisiennes') and so may originally have appeared in a Parisian journal. The subjects of the article were the current female fashions in the French capital, which the writer of the piece regarded as scandalous and ultimately unattractive.

Le souffle piquant des vents précurseurs de l'hiver, n'effarouche
point nos parisiennes; elles sont constantes dans la mode qui ne laisse plus
qu'une gaze transparente entre nos yeux et leurs appas: elles bravent les

⁶³ Jones, "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France", p. 948.

⁶⁴ Daniel Roche discusses the cult of natural fashions and the morality which such clothes supposedly represented in *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, pp. 403-06.

remontrances du moraliste et du médecin; elles consentent à perdre la santé, la vie, ainsi que leur gloire ! Leurs membres, jadis si délicats, semblent avoir contracté peu-à-peu l'insensibilité des statues de nos jardins; mais si du moins, avec leurs épaules et leur gorge entièrement découvertes, elles se montraient à nous comme Eve devant Adam avec l'embarras de la pudeur, nous les trouverions bien autrement séduisantes.

Mais non: leur physionomie se ressent de l'oubli des voiles; elle est audacieuse et n'a plus ce caractère de candeur et de simplicité qui nous charmait. L'astuce et la finesse ont remplacé leur précieuse ignorance. Les femmes, même de la première [sic] jeunesse, ne sont plus ni simples, ni naïves;⁶⁵

In the writer's opinion, women have become too refined, affected and dependent on outrageous clothes or, as he later remarks, elaborate wigs, in their efforts to be beautiful. In so doing they have lost their innocent, simple freshness which is always so attractive to men. He looks back fondly to former times when, so he claims, women's appearance and dress were more natural and modest; 'Economies de leur temps, quelques momens suffisaient à leur simple parure; riches et fières de leur chevelure naturelle, la main seule du goût en renouvelait le charme.'⁶⁶

The final instance where clothes are shown to have a much greater significance than merely covers for the body comes once again from Lyon, where a journalist was disturbed at a spate of recent attacks on well-dressed Lyonnaises.

Ce n'est plus au costume des jeunes gens qu'on fait ici la guerre. Une agression de cette espèce décèleroit des jacobins dans ceux qui s'y livreroient, & ces messieurs savent qu'ils n'auroient pas beau jeu. C'est contre le costume des femmes que les attaques sont aujourd'hui dirigées. De prétendus

⁶⁵ *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 26 brumaire an VII (16 Nov. 1798), p. 1436.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1437.

amis des mœurs, qui ne sont que des jacobins déguisés, se sont arrogé le droit de faire, dans les promenades publiques, la police de la coiffure, de l'habillement des Lyonnaises, & se permettent lâchement, contre un sexe foible les outrages & les violences les plus indignes. Ils croient détourner le soupçon par le motif d'une pareille conduite, & obtenir même les applaudissemens de tous ceux qui tiennent à la décence.

Ces agressions infâmes ont eu lieu pour la première fois le dimanche 30 juillet sous les tilleuls de Bellecour, & se sont répétées le dimanche suivant.

Les agresseurs sont tous des hommes inconnus.

Ce ne sont pas des prostituées qui ont été l'objet de leurs insultes, ce sont de [sic] jeunes épouses, des demoiselles appartenant à des parens respectables.

Il leur a plu de voir de l'indécence dans un costume où tous les yeux ne voyoient que de l'élégance.

Ces hommes, n'en doutez pas, sont les mêmes qui voient du royalisme dans une cadenette ou des oreilles de chien.

J'arrivai dimanche dernier sur la place de Bellecour, au moment où deux femmes poursuivies ne se déroberent aux outrages qui les attendoient qu'en se précipitant dans une maison.⁶⁷

As far as the journalist is concerned it is obvious that the perpetrators of these assaults are Jacobins in disguise, thus the assaults are politically motivated. The Jacobins, according to the article, proclaim themselves to be the guardians of morality and so have seen fit to become the 'fashion police' of the city. Clothes, therefore, are deemed to be publicly symbolic of a person's private beliefs and as a result the Jacobins feel that it is their duty and indeed their

⁶⁷ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 20 thermidor an V (7 Aug. 1797), pp. 391-92.

right to preserve high moral standards. For instance, in 1793 the Jacobins of Rue Belle-Cordière declared that ‘ Le luxe et la botè [sic] d’un vrai Républicain doit être aux armes. ’⁶⁸ Interestingly, it is again the physical appearance of women which is so vital here. If the writer of the article is correct in his assumption that the culprits are Jacobins then the latter seem to regard female fashion as the key to the nation’s purity. If women are seen in public in supposedly indecent attire then France’s virtue is under threat. This attitude was something which the Jacobins inherited from Rousseau’s opinions on women and costume. Rousseau regarded personal ornamentation as being important to women but he denounced Parisian commercial culture as a corrupting influence on the female sex since it encouraged them to follow fashion slavishly rather than enhance their ‘natural’ appearance with simple touches such as flowers. As Jennifer M. Jones argues, Rousseau championed grace, not artifice ⁶⁹. Rousseau also inspired the Jacobins’ view that clothing and fashion could be used as a means of classifying someone’s opinions and allegiances, as he contended that political styles had their equivalents in the world of costume ⁷⁰. That is to say, a person whose politics involved sincerity and transparency would dress in a suitably simple way.

The report about the attacks on women appeared in 1795, not long after the Parisian Jacobin occupation of Lyon ended and feelings still ran high among many of the inhabitants of Lyon, who had resented the Jacobin presence. Certainly once they were liberated, the population did its utmost to forget the frugality and Spartan simplicity advocated by the city’s conquerors and extravagant fashions would have been part of this drive to obliterate the events of late 1793-94. It was the era of the *jeunesse dorée* with their outrageous clothes and frivolous language. Female *Incroyables* began to wear increasingly revealing neo-classical dresses in white muslin which left their breasts half-naked⁷¹. Elegant simplicity was no more.

⁶⁸ Edmonds, *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon 1789-1793*, p. 155.

⁶⁹ Jones, “Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France”, p. 945.

⁷⁰ Roche, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, p. 488.

⁷¹ Ribeiro, “Fashion in the Eighteenth Century: Some Anglo-French Comparisons”, p. 342.

Louis-Sébastien Mercier lampooned the female members of this movement in *Le Nouveau Paris* when he wrote:

Orphise change trois fois d'aspect en un jour. Le matin c'est une Nymphé transparente dans sa robe de linon. Sa perruque a la forme conique d'une ruche: elle va déjeuner [sic] à la campagne; c'est-à-dire, à Passy.

A trois heures elle brille de mille attraits; son shall voltigeant, et de couleur rouge, la fait prendre pour un papillon aux aîles purpurines; sa perruque à la *Bérénice* fixe tous les regards.

Le soir quand le soleil est disparu, c'est *Diane* en robe retroussée qui marche à grands pas. Un croissant de diamans s'échappe du milieu de ces cheveux étrangers et parfaitement noirs, qu'un simple ruban assujettit en toque derrière la tête;⁷²

Mercier's critical portrayal of this woman highlights the pretence of her appearance and the way in which she plays different roles and imitates different characters at different times of the day. There is a direct link here with the way in which fashionable women are described by the fashion bulletin in the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. de Rhône* quoted in chapter five. Both that article and Mercier (though Mercier makes the connection implicitly rather than explicitly) identify rapid alterations in women's physical and sartorial appearance as a reflection on the moral state of the Republic.

Later in the article the writer is disgusted to note that not one of the crowd of men who witnessed the women's plight went to their assistance and he gives this warning to those men and other members of his sex who may be tempted to do nothing about assaults such as these: 'Hommes, qui vous êtes donné le spectacle de la frayeur de ces deux femmes, ne craignez-vous pas que demain le tour de vos épouses, ou de vos filles, ou de vos soeurs

⁷² L.-S. Mercier, *Le Nouveau Paris* (6 vols., Paris, 1797), Tome IV, pp. 70-71.

n'arrive ?' ⁷³. He plays on the potential fears of his male readers concerning their female relatives and also on the fears of non-Jacobin women themselves by emphasising his belief that no woman was safe from attack if she ventured into the streets wearing fashionable, elegant garments. In the mind of the writer of this report, the underlying issue is not one of clothes but of political allegiance. In his perception of the situation, certain men with radical Republican views are attempting to impose those views and all that they entail on the majority of the population of Lyon. However, people must resist this threat to their lifestyle and appearance just as strongly as they objected to the Jacobin occupation of their city in 1793-94. Their regional identity is at stake and women's bodies and the fashions with which they adorn them form the arena in which the battle will be fought.

The next quote concerns a woman who felt that she wished to fight France's enemies on the battlefield. Her name was Clémence Alibert and her village of Eyrieu near Vienne held her up as an example to those men who were reluctant to fight for their nation, as recounted in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* in a piece entitled "Trait de patriotisme":

Le district de Vienne a aussi son héroïne. Clémence Alibert, du lieu d'Eyrieu, âgée de 22 ans, d'une figure agréable, se présente, le 20 de ce mois, sous l'habit de garde-national, dans l'endroit où la jeunesse de son canton étoit rassemblée pour le recrutement. Citoyens, braves républicains, leur a-t-elle dit, j'applaudis au zele [sic] de la municipalité qui vient de mettre mon amant en état d'arrestation, parce qu'il a eu la foiblesse de faire mine d'émigrer ce canton pour se soustraire à l'enrôlement; je lui ai reproché ce moment d'oubli, excusable, sans doute, par l'amour et l'attachement qu'il m'a voués; rendez-le moi, rendez-le à lui-même, et daignez m'accepter pour le suivre en qualité de volontaire ⁷⁴

⁷³ *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, 20 thermidor an V (7 Aug. 1797), p. 392.

⁷⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 31 mars 1793, p. 268.

The picture of Clémence which emerges here is that of an impassioned, determined young woman. There are more complicated aspects of the report, though. Firstly, early on in the account of how she came to join the army, the writer of the article is careful to describe Clémence as possessing a pleasant, attractive face. Unlike the female soldier captured at Duren who was described by the Frankfurt journalist as having masculine facial features, therefore, Clémence is not androgynous but a recognisably feminine woman. The prominence accorded to the statement concerning her appearance hints at the importance to the writer of the femininity of the female sex. Clémence's fame apparently is due to her physical characteristics as well as to her valour. In addition, her reasons for joining the military are not centred on herself, but on her sweetheart who would have been called up as part of the *levée des 300,000* which had been decreed on 24 February 1793⁷⁵ and was so distraught at the thought of being separated from her that he tried to leave the area in order to avoid having to enlist and as a result was arrested. Clémence decides that the best solution to her lover's dilemma is for her to become a soldier and serve alongside him.

Rose Barreau who resorted to joining the army because it represented the only way of remaining with her husband when his period of military service began only a few days after their wedding on 5 March 1793⁷⁶. Other examples of women who fought in the Revolutionary armies are Anne Quatresols who served in the artillery or Françoise Rouelle who enlisted in August 1792⁷⁷. Reine Chapuy, did so because of patriotic fervour whilst others, such as the Fernig sisters who fought at Jemmapes, enjoyed the military life and the opportunity for adventure which it offered⁷⁸. This enjoyment should not, however, be taken to mean that the French women who became soldiers did so as a result of any kind of feminist consciousness. Some feminist historians, for instance Karen Offen, have claimed that the early years of the

⁷⁵ A. Forrest, *Soldiers of the French Revolution* (Durham, North Carolina, 1990), pp. 68-69.

⁷⁶ R. M. Dekker and L. C. van de Pol, "Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies", *History of European Ideas*, 10, no. 3 (1989), pp. 353-63, p. 353.

⁷⁷ P.-M. Duhet, *Les Femmes et la Révolution 1789-1794* (Paris, 1971), p. 118.

⁷⁸ Dekker and van de Pol, "Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies", p. 356 and Duhet, *Les Femmes et la Révolution 1789-1794*, p. 118.

Revolution allowed space for feminist arguments and activities, yet there is little evidence regarding the motives and experience of female Revolutionary soldiers to suggest a feminist agenda⁷⁹. In 1795, a woman named Cathérine Merlu married a conscript who then divorced her once the threat of having to serve in the army was no longer present⁸⁰. The implication is that the marriage was purely one of convenience, contracted to enable the man to retain his civilian status. It was a woman of rare courage and patriotism who so loved both her man and her country that she was willing to become a soldier in order to save him from being in custody and to persuade him to do his duty and enlist by ensuring that they could remain together. In consequence the local authorities, her family and her fellow villagers could regard her as an example of the valiant spirit of the population of Republican France, which was something to be admired. Clémence's patriotic turn of mind is further demonstrated by her declaration that her lover was weak to try and avoid having to enlist, an action for which she reproached him. She also praises the municipality (presumably of Vienne) for having arrested him.

This report is not simply about a woman going to war, though. On a symbolic level, in the hands of the journalist who wrote this story Clémence becomes a symbol of liberty and of the virtue of the new French nation. The choice of the word 'héroïne' which occurs in the very first sentence of the report illustrates the symbolic, iconic purpose which Clémence and her tale of courage are being made to serve and this function links her to the peasant girl who was crowned rosière of Salency, a hamlet in Picardy, each year on 8 June. The rosière was chosen because of her youth and chastity and indeed she was the local queen of virtue⁸¹. Clémence's bravery and the fact that she was only twenty-two years of age mark her out in a similar way but the most significant parallel between the two cases is the way in which judicial

⁷⁹ K. Offen, "The New Sexual Politics of French Revolutionary Historiography", *French Historical Studies*, 16, no. 4 (1990), pp. 909-22, p. 920 and Dekker and van de Pol, "Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies", pp. 357, 361.

⁸⁰ Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor*, pp. 160-61.

⁸¹ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, p. 69.

mémoires written during the ancien régime concerning the rosière of Salency present the young woman chosen to be crowned as the symbol of the French 'nation'. The background to the mémoires is that in 1773 the seigneur of Salency had tried to arrogate to himself the right to choose the rosière and this brought him into conflict with the villagers who brought a lawsuit against him and won. The case attracted the attention of famous lawyers like Delacroix and Target; the latter wrote a mémoire entitled *Plaidoyer pour la rosière* and both he and Delacroix used the opportunity to express their developing political beliefs. The method by which they achieved this was to depict Danré, the seigneur, as evil, scheming and despotic and then to contrast him with the virtuousness and civic spirit of the villagers, qualities which were characterised by the rosière⁸².

Target and Delacroix set up this dichotomy between the seigneur and the villagers as a result of the increasing hostility which they and other barristers felt towards the parliamentary aristocracy from the 1760s onwards. Such hostility was in turn the consequence of the barristers' exclusion from the magistracy and also of their political radicalisation. They saw in the figure of the rosière an example of universal suffrage in action since she was elected by the villagers and also of public politics rather than secret manipulating and plotting (which they portrayed as the domain of the seigneur)⁸³. In the report in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* France's enemies, for instance Prussia and Austria which are still under the yoke of despotism take the part played by Danré in Salency and Clémence becomes the rosière, providing a shining example of Republican honour with which to combat tyranny. As for the villagers of Salency, their role is played by the villagers of Eyrieu or possibly by the whole of the French Republic considering that Clémence will be fighting to defend the entire country. Of course, it could be remarked that there is an important difference between Clémence and the rosière, in that Clémence is named in the report whereas the rosière was effectively

⁸² Ibid., pp. 70, 98, 102-03.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 93-94, 103-04.

anonymous because her identity changed from year to year. This is true, but it does not alter the similarity between the purposes for which the two female figures were used. In other words, it was ideal for Target's and Delacroix's purposes that the *rosière* was not a single, identifiable woman because it meant that she could be employed as a symbol, as a representation of moral principles to which everyone ought to aspire. Equally, although Clémence is named she is nonetheless presented by the journalist as an outstanding woman rather than as the norm for her sex. She therefore represents the courage and virtue which all French citizens should possess but her case is not intended to be read as an indication that male and female roles in the Republic are identical.

The journalist's response to Clémence's decision was jubilant and further emphasises the symbolic aspects of her story as recounted in the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*.

Sa [Clémence's] demande est accueillie avec transport; son exemple entraîne, sous les drapeaux de Mars, un grand nombre de jeunes guerriers; on se dispute l'honneur de marcher sur ses traces; tous les citoyens se portent ensuite autour de l'arbre de la liberté, et jurent avec Clémence Alibert et son amant, *de vaincre ou de mourir*: on publie le mariage de ce couple heureux; chacun presse la nouvelle amazone dans ses bras; son pere [sic], âgé de plus de 93 ans, verse sur elle des larmes de joie et d'admiration. La municipalité se charge des frais des nêces, et promet une gratification de vingt sous par jour, tant que la campagne durera, à cette courageuse fille. Précieuse liberté, voilà ton ouvrage! Quels prodiges tu enfanter! Tu enflames de l'amour de la gloire la foiblesse même; tu doubles ses forces...Hommes vils, qui êtes insensibles aux cris de la patrie, qui craignez de prodiguer votre sang pour cimenter l'égalité, la liberté, une femme vous montre vos devoirs; elle abandonne sa famille, ses jouissances pour courir les hasards des combats. S'il est encore des lâches parmi les François, qu'ils prennent la quenouille, le fuseau; ce sont les seules armes dignes

d'eux.⁸⁴

Clémence's action is so well received that her father (whose reported age of 93, if accurate, makes it amazing that he was able to witness his daughter's heroism) weeps and embraces her whilst the other army recruits from Eyrieu argue over who should march behind her and the local authorities cover the costs of her wedding and promise her a bonus of twenty *sous* per day for as long as she remains a member of the armed forces. Everyone is in awe of her and such a reaction again grants an almost iconic role to Clémence since it makes her the principal player in the impromptu ceremony and oath-swearing which take place around the community's liberty tree. Once more, there are parallels here with the rites in Salency when the *rosière*, surrounded by the villagers, processed through the hamlet to the church⁸⁵.

However, this reaction is hardly in keeping with official Republican doctrines concerning women's role in society though Clémence's behaviour obviously has parallels with Pauline Léon's petition to the Assemblée Nationale in March 1792 for women's right to bear arms and the Amazonian speeches and marches of Théroigne de Méricourt and Olympe de Gouges in the same year in support of the same goal. There is also a link with the dozen women from Lalinde who appealed to the Jacobin club in their town for the chance to fight against the Vendéens as volunteers⁸⁶. It ought however to be remarked in this context that the desire of certain women to bear arms was not always met with a favourable response, even from other members of their own sex. Théroigne de Méricourt's address to the women of the faubourg Saint-Antoine in March 1792 on the subject of forming a female regiment, caused the crowd to jostle her and in addition, Pauline Léon's petition to the Assemblée Nationale was rejected⁸⁷. Finally, on 30 April 1793, the Convention Nationale decreed that all

⁸⁴ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 31 mars 1793, p. 268. The italics are the work of the journalist who wrote this account.

⁸⁵ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, p. 69.

⁸⁶ Duhet, *Les Femmes et la Révolution 1789-1794*, pp. 115-16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

unnecessary women, that is to say any females who were not laundresses or *vivandières*, had to leave the army⁸⁸.

One reason for this hostility, at least as far as male opponents of the concept of women bearing arms were concerned, was that in the radical Republican code of appropriate male and female behaviour, only men were theoretically capable of being politically active citizens. In the natural order only men were supposed to be capable of defending the nation against its external enemies and of killing another human being if necessary. The courageous, sincere *citoyen* who performed his civic duties and was prepared to sacrifice his life on the battlefield was the new masculine ideal. As Dehaussy-Robecourt replied to Pauline Léon when she appealed to the Assemblée Nationale, ‘la nature...n’a point destiné les femmes à donner la mort;’⁸⁹. The implications of such a statement were not lost on contemporary women. Karen Offen gives the example of Fanny Raoul, who in 1801 claimed that the Revolution had created a political society where men alone had civic responsibilities⁹⁰.

The final lines of the newspaper report consist of the journalist’s attempts simultaneously to castigate and inspire all those citizens who have up to this point balked at doing their duty and fighting for their fatherland. In the journalist’s opinion these men are cowards, frightened to shed their blood for the good of the nation. They are being shamed by a mere woman. This was clearly intended to be a severe insult to any men who had failed to enlist when they ought to have done. Therefore, the story of how Clémence Alibert became a soldier was employed as a measure of Republican France’s greatness: patriotism was sufficiently widespread that a woman was willing to renounce the pleasures and security of home go to war in order to ensure that her lover performed his military service.

Clémence Alibert was not the only female soldier who featured in the pages of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* in 1793:

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 117.

⁹⁰ Offen, “The New Sexual Politics of French Revolutionary Historiography”, p. 921.

Le lendemain de l'affaire près de Hokeim, *un officier françois*,
du nombre des prisonniers faits par les prussiens, est accouché d'un garçon.
Le gazettier ajoute qu'il y a dans l'armée de Custine plus de mille femmes
déguisées en hommes. Le gazettier a-t-il voulu peindre le pouvoir de
l'enthousiasme sur un peuple qui se bat pour sa liberté, ou vouloit-il faire
croire que nos armées n'étoient que des légions de femmes. Il y eut en effet
parmi les prisonniers amenés à Cologne, après l'affaire de Duren, une de ces
héroïnes, qui a reçu 3 blessures: il ne reste plus dans l'armée de Custine,
qu'une seule femme qui, habillée en volontaire, & portant la physionomie mâle
d'un grenadier blanchi sous les harnois, couche dans le même sac que son *ami*,
dans le coin d'une chambrée. Custine a promis à cette femme, de lui assurer un
sort après la guerre.⁹¹

This report was actually a reprinted extract from the '*gazette de Francfort*'. One of the French soldiers captured by the Prussians after the incident near Hokeim is a woman and not only that, but a pregnant woman who has just been delivered of a baby boy. Rose Barreau (mentioned above in connection with Clémence Alibert) also remained in military service whilst expecting a child, only leaving the army in September 1793, when she must have been eight months pregnant⁹². Unsurprisingly this news about the woman captured at Hokeim was clearly regarded as being remarkable, if not scandalous, by the journalists of Frankfurt and the writer of the original account took the opportunity of appending to it the statement that in there were more than a thousand women in General Custine's army. The implication of this was that the French nation was weak and cowardly since it was prepared to send women to do men's work, in other words to fight a war. The French journalist began his riposte to the Frankfurt extract by asking rhetorically if the writer of the latter had claimed that Custine's

⁹¹ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 30 janvier 1793, p. 96. The italicised words are reproduced as they appeared in the newspaper text.

⁹² Dekker and van de Pol, "Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary

army contained a great deal of women in order to portray France as a nation struggling to secure its freedom or in order to denigrate the French armies as being nothing more than hordes of females. The question was rhetorical since he obviously felt that he knew already that the Frankfurt report was insulting to the French Republic. The firmness with which he declares that there remains only one woman in Custine's army demonstrates simultaneously that he accepts the existence of isolated female individuals in the French armed forces whilst rejecting as nonsense the idea that the numbers of women soldiers could run to hundreds. The French journalist's tolerant attitude towards female soldiers is underlined by remarks he makes concerning a woman captured at Duren and the sole remaining female in General Custine's forces. He describes the woman taken prisoner as a 'heroine' which, unless the term was employed sarcastically, suggests that he has some admiration for her.

This acceptance of the basic concept that women could be fighting on the frontline under the French banner is important because it is possible that the entire account of a French prisoner-of-war having given birth was invented by the *gazette de Francfort* in order to discredit the French military and thus to dishearten the French population as a whole. Foreign newspapers and information about the articles which they contained were available in late-eighteenth-century France, as shown by the fact that a Lyonnais journal reprinted the extract from its counterpart in Frankfurt.

The political acuity of the women's club in Lyon one of whose meetings was described on pages 247 to 252 above and its awareness of the Revolutionary wars in which Clémence Alibert and the woman who had given birth in a prisoner-of-war camp fought, is demonstrated in one of the concluding paragraphs which were appended to the minutes and which were written by the journalist. The information relates to a collection taken up earlier by the women.

Nous devons ajouter que, par un arrêté de la société, homologué

par le Conseil général de la commune, une cueillette de plus de 1,000 liv.
destinée à un achat de piques, a été distribuée aux femmes dont les maris
sont aux frontieres [sic].⁹³

The money was to be given to females who were experiencing financial hardship due to the pressures of war, which resulted from Republican France's embattled position within Europe. Therefore, international relations and their effects on ordinary French men and women was a subject about which the women's club in Lyon possessed some knowledge. However, had the money been used for its original purpose, that is for purchasing pikes, it would still have demonstrated the women's knowledge of at least the local political climate and their desire not merely to debate but also to act and participate in political matters. They themselves were not necessarily going to wield the pikes and in addition their decision had to be ratified by the General Council of the Commune, which implies that their freedom of action in such matters was limited. Yet despite this, the fact that they had raised the money to supply these weapons means that they were performing an auxiliary role in the defence of their city, a role which they appeared to have felt at ease playing.

The mention of pikes has another significance. These were the weapons of the *peuple*, as used by the women who marched to Versailles during the *journée* of October 1789 and by extension, of the Jacobins, especially those of a radical persuasion. If the members of the female club in Lyon had raised money to buy implements of that kind, it suggests that they were lower-class women who were staunchly committed to the Republican cause. The mentality of the women of the club was actually praised as being 'républicaine' by the journalist in the preface to the *procès-verbaux* and in the extracts of individual speeches which were printed in the following issue of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône*, the women themselves are referred to as 'républicaines' ⁹⁴. The complimentary nature of these

⁹³ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 9 janvier 1793, p. 27.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 janvier 1793, pp. 26, 27 and *ibid.*, 10 janvier 1793, p. 30.

descriptions was due to their having being written by a journalist who was employed by a newspaper with radical sympathies.

There were women in Revolutionary France who became involved in battles and combat quite unintentionally, as a result of the immediate political situation in their locality. This is to say that they defended their homes and communities against attack and as a result received honourable mentions in local newspapers. One such incident occurred in Angers in July 1793 and was recounted in a letter written by an inhabitant of that town to a correspondent in Rennes, which was printed in a local newspaper, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*:

Je vous dirai qu'angers [sic] est fort tranquille; biron y est, les lauriers sont aux portes des patriotes. Mardi dernier les brigands se sont présentés [sic] au pont de cé; ils étoient en petit nombre, les femmes les ont fait fuir en les assommant à coups de pierres; les brigands furieux de se voir chassés par des femmes, ont juré qu'ils alloient revenir & mettre le feu partout;⁹⁵

In this letter, which evidently was penned by a pro-Revolutionary individual, the fact that a group of mere women defeated the Royalist rebels is used as a means of glorifying the patriotic cause and of ridiculing the Republic's political enemies. Presumably, to be chased away from a town they had come to attack was humiliating enough, but to be chased away by members of the female sex was even worse. Angers, though not in Brittany, was nevertheless situated within the politically troubled western region of France, on the edge of the Vendée where the struggle between the Royalists and Revolutionaries was especially bitter and violent. This explains the triumphant tone of the letter and perhaps also accounts for the praise accorded to the townswomen for their collective physical resistance to the Catholic rebels, behaviour which in a different context might have been condemned by the writer.

⁹⁵ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 16 juillet 1793. p. 110.

In Nantes at approximately the same date, women were aiding a war effort in a more conventionally feminine manner and they also received commendations for their actions in a news report in the periodical press.

Les citoyennes doivent aussi partager la gloire de cette journée;
renfermées dans leurs maisons, elles s'occupoient à convertir en charpie du
linge pour le pansement des blessés. Les citoyennes veuves orillard & chiron,
ont apporté des paquets de linge au département, pour être employés au même
usage.⁹⁶

Although in this extract the political loyalties of these females is not specified, the news report from which the quotation was taken concerned an attack on Nantes and its inhabitants by counter-revolutionaries, who eventually were defeated. The women mentioned in the extract were on the victorious side and must therefore have been loyal to the Revolutionary cause. In addition, the fact that the news report was published as an adjunct of the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* suggests that the women were supporters of the Revolution. This is because the above newspaper was itself moderately pro-Revolutionary, as shown by the inclusion just a few days later of the letter from Angers which was discussed previously and which lauded the patriots. Moreover, the term *citoyennes* which was used to refer to the women was extremely unlikely to have been applied to any females who were hostile to the Revolution. Citoyennes Orillard and Chiron, who receive a special mention in the report, were involved in the supply of linen for medical dressings. They brought linen into the Revolutionary département of Loire Inférieure (in which Nantes was situated) from another region. They were not alone in serving the Revolutionary armies. Women provided the various Republican military campaigns with a wide variety of auxiliary services, not just the supply of bandages. They sold food to the soldiers, nursed the sick, worked as washerwomen, helped to

⁹⁶ From an article dated 29 juin 1793, printed on p. 4 of the special pamphlet entitled "Département De La Loire Inférieure" which was published between the issues dated 4 and 5 juillet 1793 of the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* and must therefore be

dig fortifications and perhaps most importantly of all, they were prostitutes⁹⁷. As an example of the considerable female presence in French military camps in the eighteenth century, there were 1,200 women assisting an army of 30,200 men in 1757⁹⁸. Therefore, the Revolutionary armies could not march without the auxiliary services furnished by women and so Orillard and Chiron constituted part of a much larger picture.

Political divisions which led to armed conflict also affected the lives of women in Lyon in the early 1790s. The siege and subsequent occupation by Jacobins of Lyon in 1793-94 meant that local women could not avoid being drawn into what was in essence a violent civil war in their city. During the siege the *Bulletin du Dép. de Rhône* recorded several instances of women having to fight to protect themselves and their property. The female in the following extract died for having dared to resist the government's soldiers:

Une atrocité qui doit être consignée dans ce bulletin, est le massacre d'une pauvre femme des environs, par quatre soldats ennemis. Elle n'avoit point d'autre tort (si c'en est un) que de défendre ses petites ressources avec toute l'énergie qu'inspire le désespoir. Comme les passions sont exaspérées! Comme l'envie de nous nuire occasionne de crimes! J'en frissonne d'horreur.⁹⁹

As with the child abandoned by its mother in the article from the *Journal de Lyon, ou Mon. de Rhône* quoted above, the writer of this report employs emotive terms in order to excite his audience's sympathy for the woman, terms such as 'atrocité' and 'massacre' ensure that the reader understands that this is a terrible crime which has been committed by enemy soldiers against an inhabitant of besieged Lyon. The ultimate aim of this bulletin was to strengthen the will of the citizens of Lyon to resist the Convention's troops.

considered as a supplement of sorts to one or other of the issues, most probably the earlier one.

⁹⁷ Forrest, *Soldiers of the French Revolution*, pp. 149-50 and Dekker and van de Pol, "Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies", p. 358.

⁹⁸ Dekker and van de Pol, "Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies", p. 358.

⁹⁹ *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire* (Lyon, août-septembre 1793), 22 août 1793, p. 4.

Articles in the Revolutionary newspaper press which were intended to inspire in their readers support for a particular cause did not necessarily use pitiful female figures, though. On occasion such articles might involve women proudly declaring their love for the Revolution, as was the case with another excerpt from Citoyenne Pere's address to the meeting of the women's club in January 1793, part of which has already been discussed on page 251. In her speech she talked about the importance of educating the young and she also addressed herself to the subject of the current political scene in France and what the Revolution had achieved:

Les temps sont arrivés où les prestiges de l'erreur seront bientôt dissipés.

Les voiles du mensonge sont déchirés, la vérité triomphe, elle brille de sa simplicité naturelle. Les rayons de sa gloire sont les vrais sans-culottes. Ils sont les ministres du temple de la justice, ainsi que de ses autels... Les tyrans de la terre vouloient être adorés comme des dieux, & cependant ils ne faisoient pas pour elle ce que le laboureur le moins robuste avoit coutume de faire. Le temps de leur destruction approche, *l'injustice à la fin produit l'indépendance*, & les peuples libres commanderont aux peuples esclaves, s'ils n'aiment mieux marcher avec eux sous l'étendard de la liberté & de l'égalité.... Oh! ma patrie, puissent se réaliser les vœux que notre société forme pour ta gloire & ton bonheur.¹⁰⁰

The *peuple* is here portrayed consistently as the source of all virtue and the true inheritors of the French nation. The concepts of justice and injustice are juxtaposed, with the latter being defined as the state of affairs at the beginning of the Revolution. By contrast, justice is what exists now, thanks to the events of the Revolution. Citoyenne Pere expresses it thus: 'The veil of lies has been torn apart'. This phrase suggests that a new era of truth, which was such a vital quality for the Revolutionaries, is dawning. Also, the speech emphasises the pressing need to defend the principles of the Revolution and the Republic which those principles have created. Citoyenne Pere argues in favour of helping the inhabitants of other countries to

¹⁰⁰ *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*, 10 janvier 1793, p. 30. The words in

throw off the yoke of slavery. The idea of international Republicanism evidently appealed to her. She employs the emotive term of ‘tyrants’ to refer to the aristocracy and perhaps even to some representatives of the *bourgeoisie*.

Although Citoyenne Pere’s words were reported as an example of what a good, patriotic Lyonnaise thought about the Revolution, there were some women in Republican France who committed actions which were seen as subversive and anti-Republican. As a result their executions were reported in contemporary newspapers or their actions were criticised and scorned. A woman named Marie Lolière, who was guillotined on 23 frimaire an II (13 December, 1793)¹⁰¹, had her death proclaimed to the community by the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie*. She had been convicted on two counts, firstly of having said that she would cut off the head of one of the *représentants du peuple* attached to the Armée des Alpes and carry it around on the end of a pike. In addition, she was supposed to have tried to incite civil war and to have taken up arms against her nation. In the issue of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie* immediately following that in which the details of Marie’s execution were given, it was reported from Paris that Marie-Gervase Verlin and her sister Magdelaine had been sentenced to death for corresponding with enemies of the Republic¹⁰². Such announcements were both a message to the inhabitants of Lyon that those who wished to undermine the Republic would be dealt with severely and they were also intended to have the effect of binding the Revolutionary community together against the common enemy, though of course in Jacobin-occupied Lyon that effect would have been difficult to achieve because the Revolutionary community was divided into those who had supported the federalist rebellion and those who had opposed it.

italics denote emphasis in the reported speech of Citoyenne Pere.

¹⁰¹ *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*, 29 frimaire an II (19 Dec. 1793), p. 174.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 30 frimaire an II (20 Dec. 1793), p. 180.

As for women whose actions were condemned in contemporary newspapers, Charlotte Corday's assassination of Marat was one of the most hated, as shown by a letter written on 15 July 1793 by Charles Duval to the staff and readership of the Rennes newspaper with which he was associated, the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.*. Corday's act was the event which triggered the paranoid fear amongst Jacobin leaders that women, especially when acting collectively, were an inherent danger to their Republic and many male journalists were hostile to her, though some writers were much more favourable to her, demonstrating the extreme emotions which her action engendered in others¹⁰³. In this particular letter Charlotte is described in a decidedly patronising manner as a female who had everything but was seduced by a man who aimed at destroying Republican society in favour of reinstating the old power bases of the monarchy and aristocracy:

Je ne vous parlerai point du nouveau crime qui vient d'être commis par le royalisme & l'aristocratie. Il vient du caen, c'est tout dire; & cependant au milieu des tristes impressions qu'a produites cet horrible événement, j'ai du moins éprouvé quelque consolation, en songeant que mes chers compatriotes n'étoient, sans doute, déjà plus à caen, lorsque ce projet atroce y a été médité, & lorsque l'infâme assassin en est parti pour l'exécuter. 25 ans, des grâces, de l'éducation, de la vertu probablement, jusqu'à cette fatale époque: que tu es coupable buzot, ainsi que tes complices, d'être allé pervertir tout cela, & transformer une jeune & douce créature en un monstre féroce dont l'humanité a maintenant à rougir!¹⁰⁴

There is no indication here that Charlotte's decision to kill Marat might have been entirely her own, resulting from her perception of him as someone who was obstructing the creation of

¹⁰³ Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*, p. 299.

¹⁰⁴ *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, 18 juillet 1793, p. 128.

the peaceful, harmonious Republic she wished to see created in France. Duval regards her as the embodiment of beautiful, virtuous Republican womanhood corrupted by royalist forces.

Such a picture is inaccurate, not least because Buzot was not an ardent monarchist. By portraying Charlotte as the dupe of an evil man, Duval attempts to dispossess her of her act. He cannot accept the idea that in a world where male heroism and civic virtue are accentuated constantly, a woman has done what she felt to be her duty in defence of her country by eliminating a potential threat to the state and society. Chantal Thomas argues that it was because she beat her victim on his home turf of republican virtue that Duval and other men tried so fervently to prove that Corday did not murder Marat on her own initiative¹⁰⁵, but this explanation does not go far enough. Had it been a member of their own sex who was responsible, those men who were outraged at the killing would have hated the assassin but would not have denied him the authorship of the act. Men in Republican France were permitted a role in civic life but theoretically this privilege was not extended to women.

Thus the image of a woman could be employed in various ways by French journalists in the 1790s but of the two most significant modes, the first was that of depicting a virtuous Revolutionary woman upholding the new regime in order to create and cement the nation in the literary sphere. Alternatively, if they were loyal to the refractory church or if they committed an offence against the Republican regime they could be used to symbolise everything that the Revolution had supposedly abolished, in other words superstition, ignorance and barbarity. In terms of their clothing, women could be used as a device through which to criticise not just their sex but also a society which allowed them to be vain. It was not so much a case of what women actually did but of how journalists wished to construct or deconstruct what they appeared to have done.

¹⁰⁵ C. Thomas, "Heroism in the Feminine: the Examples of Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland" in S. Petrey (ed.), *The French Revolution 1789-1989. Two Hundred Years of Rethinking* (Lubbock, 1989), pp. 67-82, p. 73.

CONCLUSION: WOMEN USING THE NEWSPAPER PRESS AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS USING WOMEN.

This thesis has aimed to show that the newspaper press in Revolutionary France functioned as an intermediary between female contributors and the rest of the local community. In addition, Revolutionary newspapers contained articles which were aimed at a female readership and covered topics which supposedly were of interest to women and the press also employed female figures as symbols of Revolutionary virtue or of the despotism which had characterised France prior to 1789. The types of information which women could disseminate through the medium of a newspaper included requests for work or husbands or they might write letters to the editor of a particular publication expressing their opinions on various subjects.

The background to the above research objective is that France by the late-eighteenth century had many centres of urban literate culture and the three centres which were selected to be surveyed for this thesis were Paris, Rennes and Lyon. Paris was the capital, Rennes had been home to a significant minority of literate women since the end of the seventeenth century and Lyon, by contrast, had experienced considerable growth in female literacy rates during the eighteenth century, though of course there were still fewer literate women than literate men in both Rennes and Lyon at the start of the Revolution. Other important differences between the two provincial cities are that Rennes was situated in agricultural and strongly Catholic Brittany whereas Lyon was a textile-producing city which experienced a federalist rebellion and subsequently suffered occupation by soldiers sent by the Convention Nationale. Finally, Lyon had a longer regional press tradition than Rennes.

The wider world of print culture which existed in the cities of France in the second half of the eighteenth century and of which the periodical press formed an aspect, comprised various elements, for example newspapers, cafés, provincial academies and book-shops. The

number of journals available in the ancien régime was much lower than that available in Revolutionary France and moreover those papers which did exist were not able to provide true political news coverage due to the contemporary censorship system. However, titles such as the *Gazette de Leyde* which were published in Holland or other foreign countries allowed their readers to glimpse a different view of the absolute monarchy to the one which they saw in the pages of the official journals with their contents of diplomatic and military news.

In contrast to these pre-Revolutionary journals, the newspapers of the Revolutionary period covered political news, including reports from the sessions of the Assemblée Nationale as well as international, domestic and local news and in this respect they were distinct from the pre-Revolutionary journals. However, there was also a good deal of continuity between the journals published before and after 1789 in terms of the book reviews, advertisements, essays, entertainment news and mottoes which featured in publications from both periods. All political loyalties and several different social groups were catered for by the Revolutionary newspaper press and although there was not the variety of papers published in the provinces which was published in Paris, the larger urban centres had local periodical publications or alternatively regional subscribers could arrange to have a Parisian paper delivered to them via the national postal system and their local book-seller.

Newspapers were not of course available to everyone in contemporary France due to the members of the lower classes not being able to read them or afford them. The socio-economic analysis of those who subscribed to periodical publications demonstrates that nobles and clerics represented the largest groups of subscribers prior to 1789 whilst after that date the bourgeoisie were the largest group. Yet there were women who had access to newspapers, as shown by the literacy rates for contemporary women in the various regions of France and also by the subscription registers for several right-wing papers published after 1792. In Rennes and in Lyon there were significant minorities of literate women. Also, as asserted in chapter three the existence of advertisements from female servants in provincial

Revolutionary newspapers, a socio-economic group whose literacy rates were not especially high and who would moreover have been restricted to a low level of print culture, suggests that contemporary women could interact with newspapers on several levels. One of those levels would have consisted of being able to place and read advertisements but remaining ignorant of the finer philosophical points of the learned essays and literary reviews which the newspapers might contain.

It was not only women servants who placed work-related employment advertisements in Parisian and provincial newspapers during the Revolution. Wet-nurses and women who taught reading and writing or who operated schools also placed notices in Revolutionary journals. Women might also advertise for a husband or inform the local community about items of property which they had lost. Finally, they used advertisements columns to publicise goods they had for sale or the businesses which they ran. In all cases the newspaper press represented the most effective method of disseminating information quickly to a large number of geographically disparate people, either through literate individuals reading their own copy of a journal or through illiterate people overhearing someone else reading a journal aloud. Thus in this respect the provincial Revolutionary newspaper press continued the function of the pre-Revolutionary *Affiches*.

The Habermasian bourgeois public is crucial to any discussion of print culture in eighteenth-century France because its members read books and newspapers and discussed the contents, thereby creating their own literary perspective and culture. Originally, the public in seventeenth-century France existed in the royal court at Versailles but during the eighteenth century it became focussed on the *salons* in Paris and united aristocrats and bourgeois thinkers and writers. As the bourgeoisie's self-awareness developed, the critiques which middle-class people constructed on art and literature evolved into a political discourse.

Women were excluded from this political public sphere but there was no such bar to their participation in the literary public sphere and certainly not as far as newspapers were

concerned because anyone could correspond with the editor of a periodical, though of course there was no guarantee that women's contributions to a newspaper would actually end up in print. However, articles such as the "Première lettre d'une femme sur l'éducation de son sexe" or the letter from the citizeness in Ville-Affranchie concerning bakers and how to ensure the local food supply demonstrate that editors in Revolutionary France were prepared to print pieces which were sent to them by female readers. In addition, female editors like Citoyennes Reynari and Hémery published poems and articles in their newspapers which they themselves had written and which were about subjects of importance to them, for example women's education and motherhood. Other women wrote to newspapers in their capacity as sources of knowledge about the contemporary political and social situation, for example the woman who corresponded with the *Journal des Dép., Dis. et Mun. de Bret.* on the subject of *émigrés* or the woman who wrote to the *Journal de Lyon, et du Dép. du Rhône* asking who the *merveilleuses* were. As a result, literate and cultured women in Revolutionary France used the newspaper press as an outlet for the expression of their views and beliefs about all kinds of issues which confronted them, including political matters and this is an aspect of the Revolutionary newspaper press in which there was rupture between it and the pre-Revolutionary journals which were published within France's borders.

This outlet was all the more important considering that eighteenth-century French women did not have access to all of the cultural institutions where members of the bourgeois public sphere usually congregated, for instance the provincial academies and, during the Revolution itself, Jacobin political clubs. Even in the *salons* women's role was more one of facilitating the achievements of others rather than one of participating fully in debates and discussions. Therefore, the Revolutionary newspaper press can be regarded as fulfilling the functions of the above where literate women were concerned.

The exclusion of women from many of the cultural institutions of eighteenth-century France reflects the generally inferior position of the female sex in legal and social terms. For

ordinary women life was about survival but even upper-class women's apparent power and influence over the intellectual or governmental affairs was an illusion. Not only were women subordinate to men, but there was also a growing anti-feminine attitude in philosophy and literature, an attitude which posited the public role of some upper-class women as the root of the corruption endemic in ancien régime France. Writers like Rousseau argued that women must be denied access to public life and restricted to being modest wives and nurturing mothers if France was to be regenerated. The significance of women's maternal capacity was also emphasised by contemporary physicians and by some women themselves, for example Madame de Montanclos in the *Journal des Dames*. Breast-feeding became an important motif and the need to educate women in order to equip them to teach their children was promoted. This conception of women as primarily sexual, physical creatures who did not possess the male characteristics of reason and the ability to act independently did not change as a result of the Revolution, indeed this view of women became one of the ideological pillars of the new French state after 1789. Women in Revolutionary France had no political rights or status and this meant that French newspapers in the 1790s were not merely a substitute for the institutionalised political public sphere from which the female sex was excluded, they also contained articles targeted at women's supposedly maternal nature and in addition the image of the silly female undermining the work of the Revolution was used frequently by pro-Revolutionary journalists as reference point which could be easily understood by readers.

The articles aimed at a female audience were not only related to motherhood. Marriage, divorce, fashion and also details of decrees which concerned the female sex were also discussed or delineated in Parisian and provincial newspapers during the Revolution. Again, the editors must have thought that the quickest way to inform as many literate and even illiterate women as possible of a particular piece of information was to publish it in the periodical press. The overall picture which emerges, though, is one of the female sex being suited to being wives and mothers and interested in trivial matters such as fashion. The decree

forbidding the women of Ville-Affranchie to congregate either in the streets or in someone's home portrays women as dangerous and potentially subversive beings who need to be restricted to the domestic sphere in order to be virtuous *citoyennes*. In neither case do women appear to be capable of exercising reason or restraint by themselves. They are fundamentally different to men.

Finally, Revolutionary newspapers made use of women, especially when those women were involved in religious protests or activities. For example, the reports in pro-Revolutionary provincial papers of Breton women protesting against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy or of the young Lyonnaise who abandoned her child were worded to as to make the reader scorn and vilify the women concerned. The underlying purpose was to unite the newspapers' patriotic readers in zealous support for the Revolution and also to warn them to combat anti-Revolutionary feeling. However, other women, like Clémence Alibert could be used as models of patriotic, virtuous womanhood or as symbols of the brave, free Republican community in order to inspire readers to greater efforts for the sake of the nation. Thus the relationship between French women and the newspaper press during the Revolution was not one-sided, a matter only of women making use of that press to transmit their ideas and requests to the rest of the local community, rather it was a reciprocal relationship with newspapers using the female figure to symbolise either the freedom and courage of the Revolutionary spirit or, alternatively, the secrecy and corruption of the *ancien régime* and the absolute monarchy.

In conclusion, then, urban literary culture in eighteenth-century France included women on the personal level but excluded them from the institutions of that culture. Nevertheless, the ability to write to newspapers allowed Revolutionary women who were basically literate to find work or earn a living and, more significantly from the point of view of the apolitical status of the female sex in France in the 1790s, it permitted those women who were more highly educated and cultured to discuss the issues of the day in the way that contemporary men did in political assemblies and councils. Not all women could make use of

the press but it represented an important resource for those who could and therefore the history of women during the French Revolution ought to examine the interaction with and contributions to contemporary newspapers made by literate members of their sex.

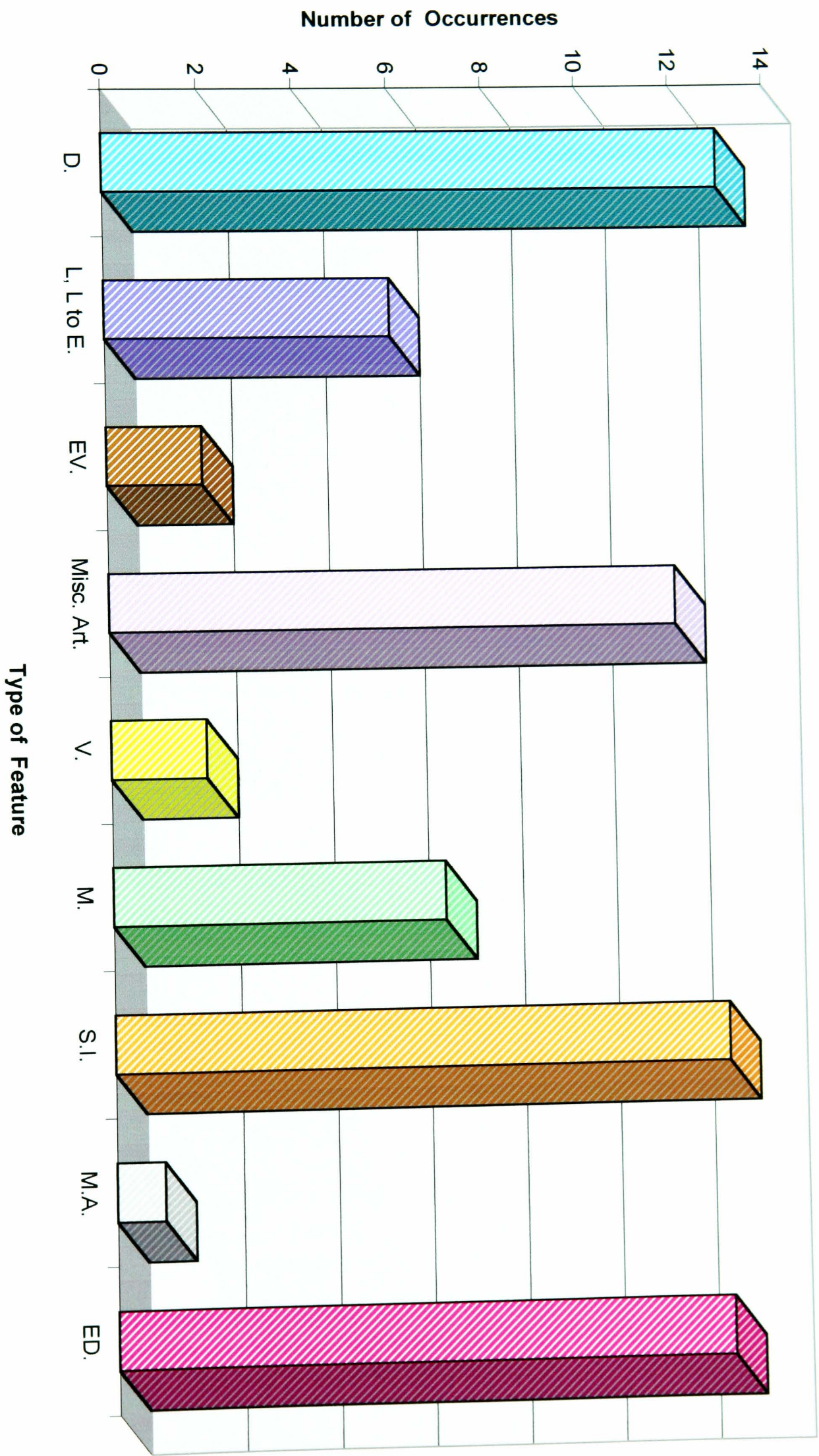
APPENDIX A.

Graphs relating to:

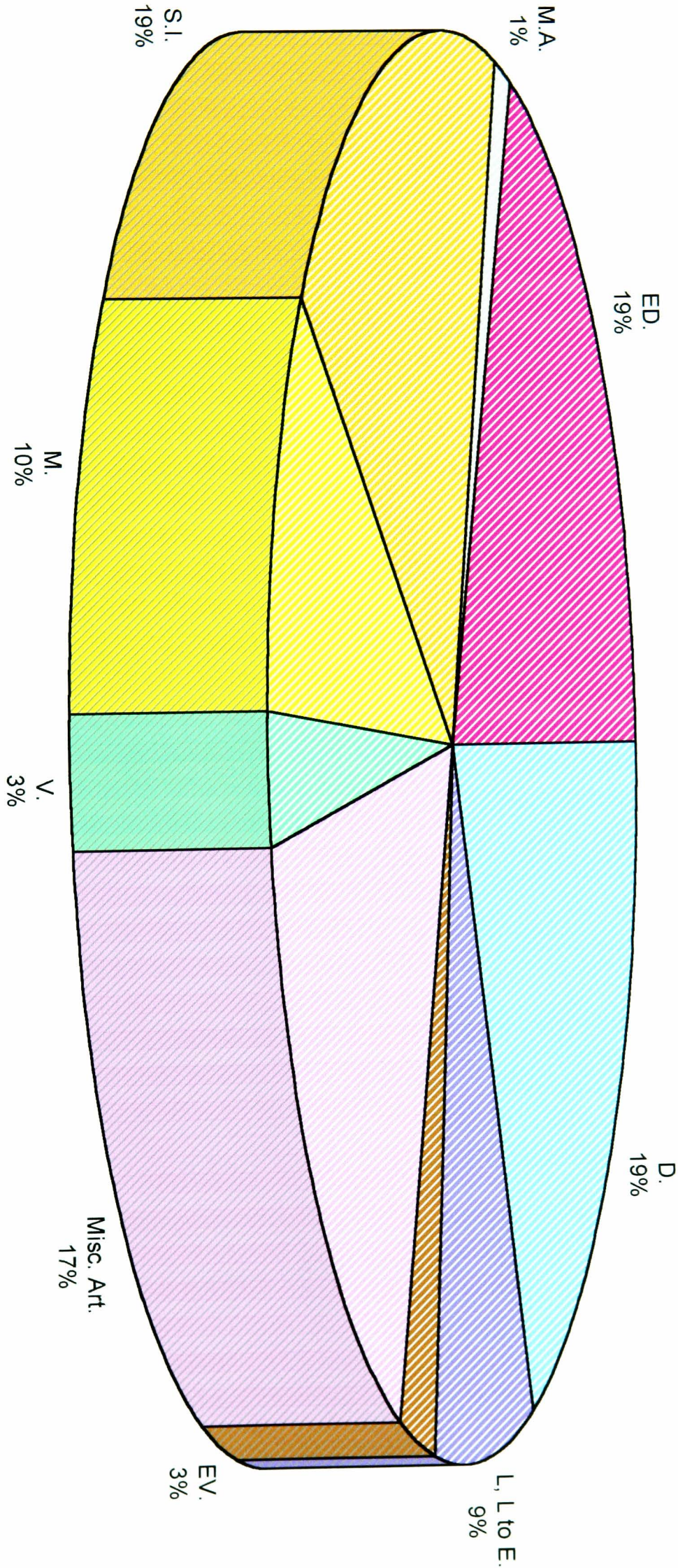
- | | |
|--|-------------|
| i.) <i>Le Courrier de l'Hymen</i> | pp. 288-90. |
| ii.) <i>Le Démocrate Français</i> | pp. 291-93. |
| iii.) <i>Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités
de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne</i> | pp. 294-96. |
| iv.) <i>Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine</i> | pp. 297-99. |
| v.) <i>Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de
Rhône et Loire</i> | pp. 300-02. |
| vi.) <i>Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens
de Rhône et Loire</i> | pp. 303-05. |
| vii.) <i>Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône</i> | pp. 306-08. |

Note: There are no charts for the *Père Duchesne* or the *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire* since neither of these newspapers has more than one feature. The former consisted solely of monologues penned by Hébert whilst the latter contained only news reports concerning the siege of Lyon. Thus there are insufficient data to graph.

The Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in the *Courrier de l'Hymen*.



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*.

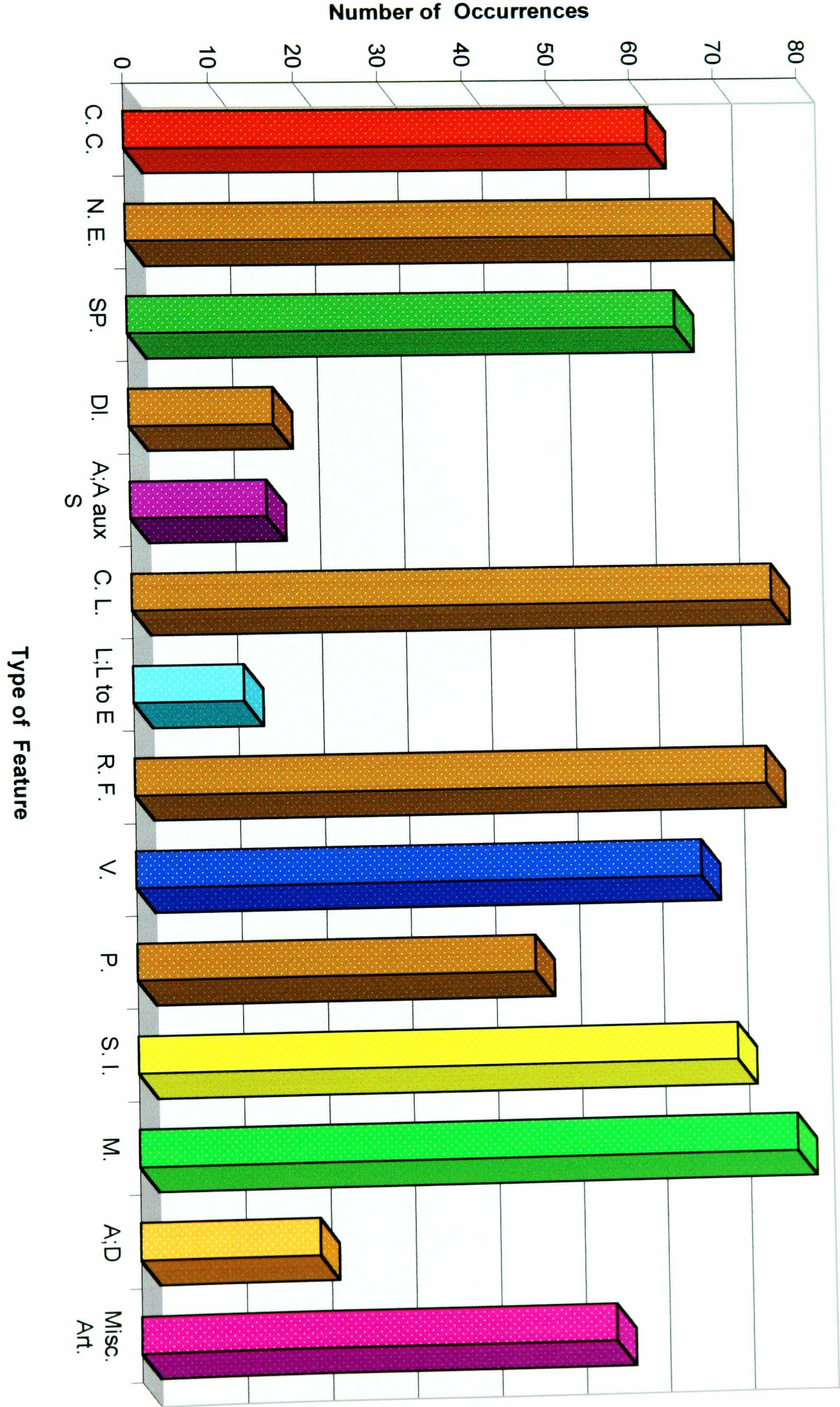


KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

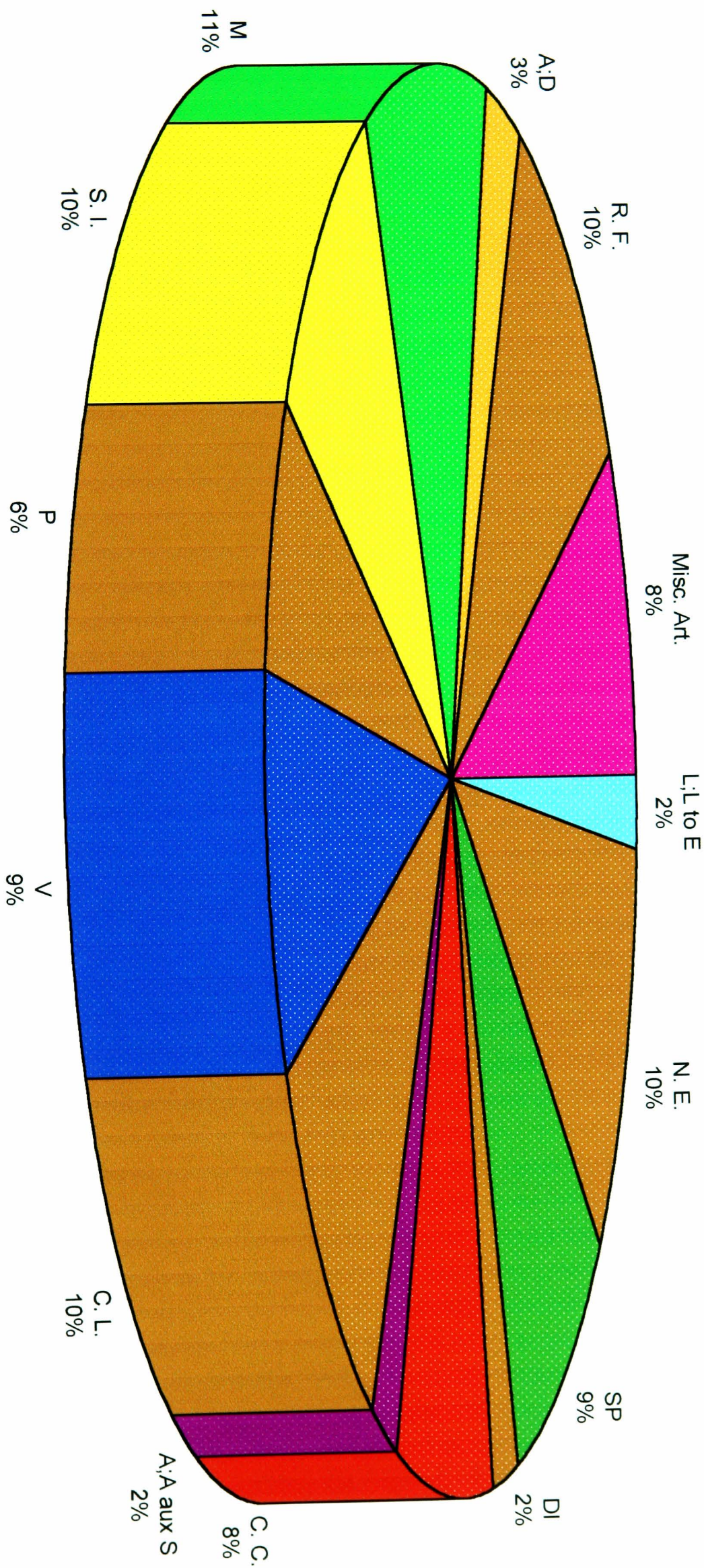
- | | |
|---|--|
| D. = Demandes.
(Personal and situations
vacant / situations wanted
advertisements.) | L, L to E. = Letters, Letters to the Editor. |
| EV. = Événement. (News report.) | Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous Articles. |
| V. = Variétés.
(Items of current gossip
with attendant moral or
political commentaries.) | M. = Motto. |
| S.I. = Subscription Information. | MA. = Marriage Announcements. |
| ED. = Editorial. | |

Note: The data on which these charts are based are taken from the thirteen issues of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* which are still extant.

The Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in *Le Démocrate Français*.



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of *Le Démocrate Français*.



KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

C.C. = Cours des Changes.

(Details of current foreign
exchange rates, prices of stocks
and bonds, bullion and various
staple goods.)

R.F. = République Française.

(Domestic news report.)

N.E. = Nouvelles Étrangères.

(Foreign news report.)

V. = Variétés.

(Pieces of imaginative writing,
sometimes with satirical
overtones or implied social
comment.)

SP. = Spectacle.

(Theatre reviews.)

P. = Paris.

(Local news report.)

DI. = Directoire.

(News of the acts of the Directory.)

S.I. = Subscription Information.

A; A aux S = Avis; Avis aux Souscripteurs.

(Extraordinary Subscription
Information.)

M. = Motto.

C.L. = Corps Législatif.

(Procès-verbaux of the sessions of
the bicameral legislative body.)

A; D = Annonce; Demande.

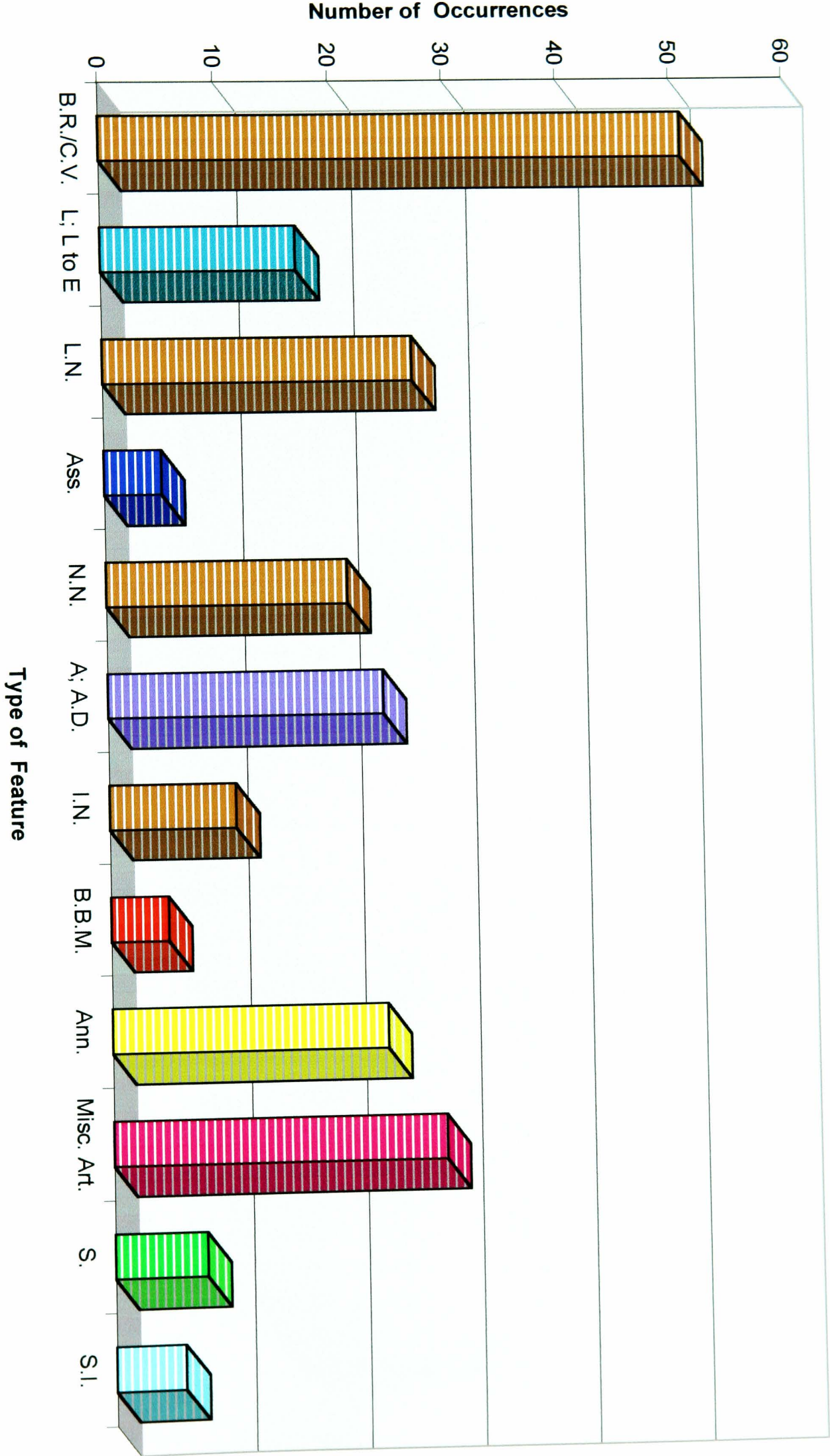
(Small advertisements.)

L, L to E = Letters; Letters to the Editor.

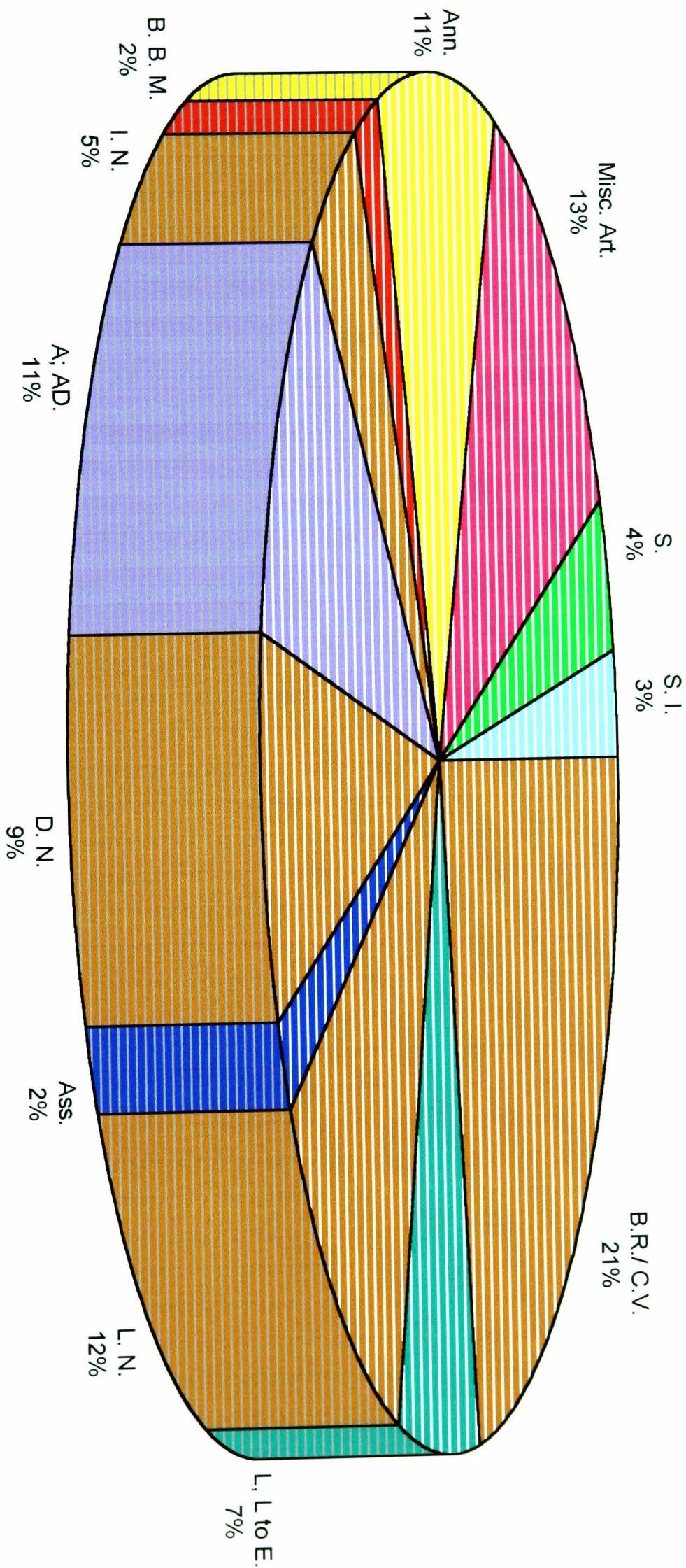
Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous Articles.

Note: The statistical data on which these charts are based are taken from all eighty-nine extant issues of *Le Démocrate Français*.

The Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in the Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne.



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of the Journal des Départements, Districts et
Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne.



KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

B.R./ C.V. = Bulletin de la Correspondance de
Rennes/ Correspondance de la
Députation de L’Ille et Vilaine.
(Procès-verbaux of the sessions
of the Assemblée Nationale
and the Convention Nationale.)

I.N. = International News.

L; L to E = Letters; Letters to the Editor.

B.B.M. = Prices of Bushels, Breads
and Meats.

L.N. = Local News.

Ann. = Annonces.
(Advertisements for new
books and pamphlets.)

Ass. = Information about assignats.

Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous articles.

D.N. = Domestic News.

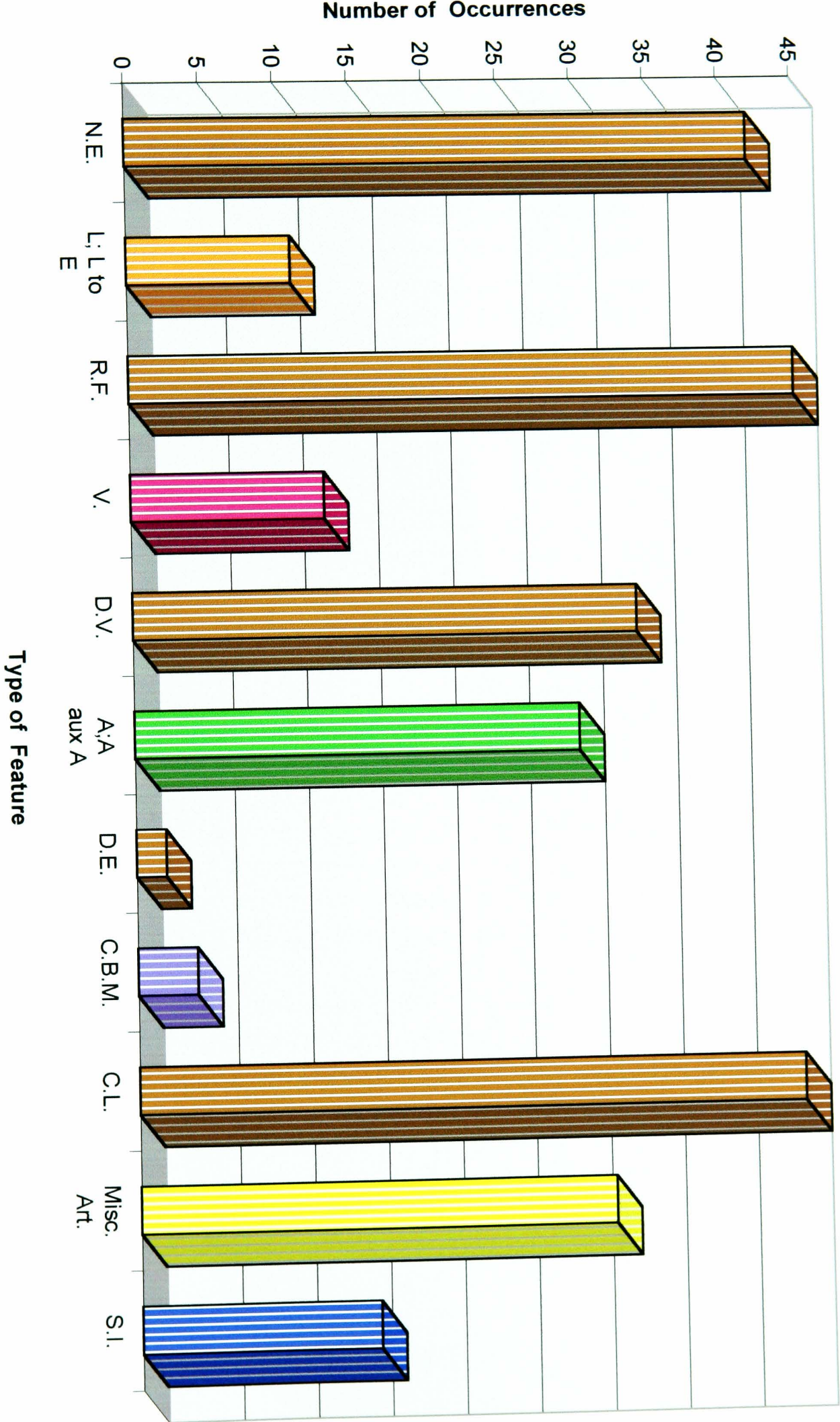
A; AD = Avis; Avis Divers.
(Advertisements and
extraordinary subscription
information.)

S. = Supplement.

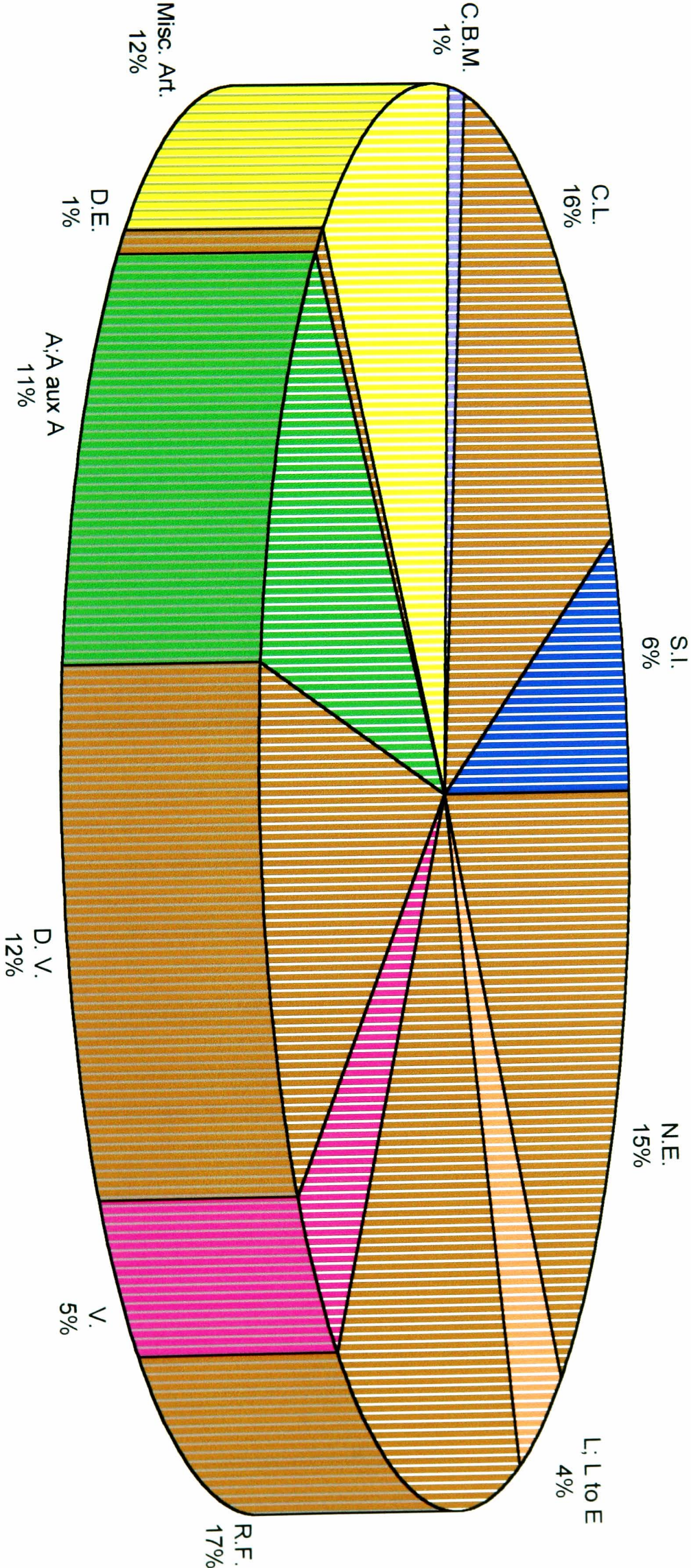
S.I. = Subscription Information.

Note: The data on which these charts are based are taken from a sample of the issues of the issues of the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*. The sample consisted of the fifty-two issues from which I quoted, out of a total of several thousand.

Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in the *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine.*



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of the Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine.



KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

N.E. = Nouvelles Étrangères.
(Foreign news reports.)

D.E. = Directoire Exécutif.
(News of the acts of the
Directory.)

L; L to E = Letters; Letters to the Editor.

C.B.M. = Prices of Cereals, Breads
and Meats.

R.F. = République Française.
(Domestic news reports.)

C.L. = Corps Législatif.
(Procès-verbaux of the sessions
of the bicameral legislative
body.)

V. = Variétés.
(Editorial features and details
of forthcoming events.)

Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous Articles.

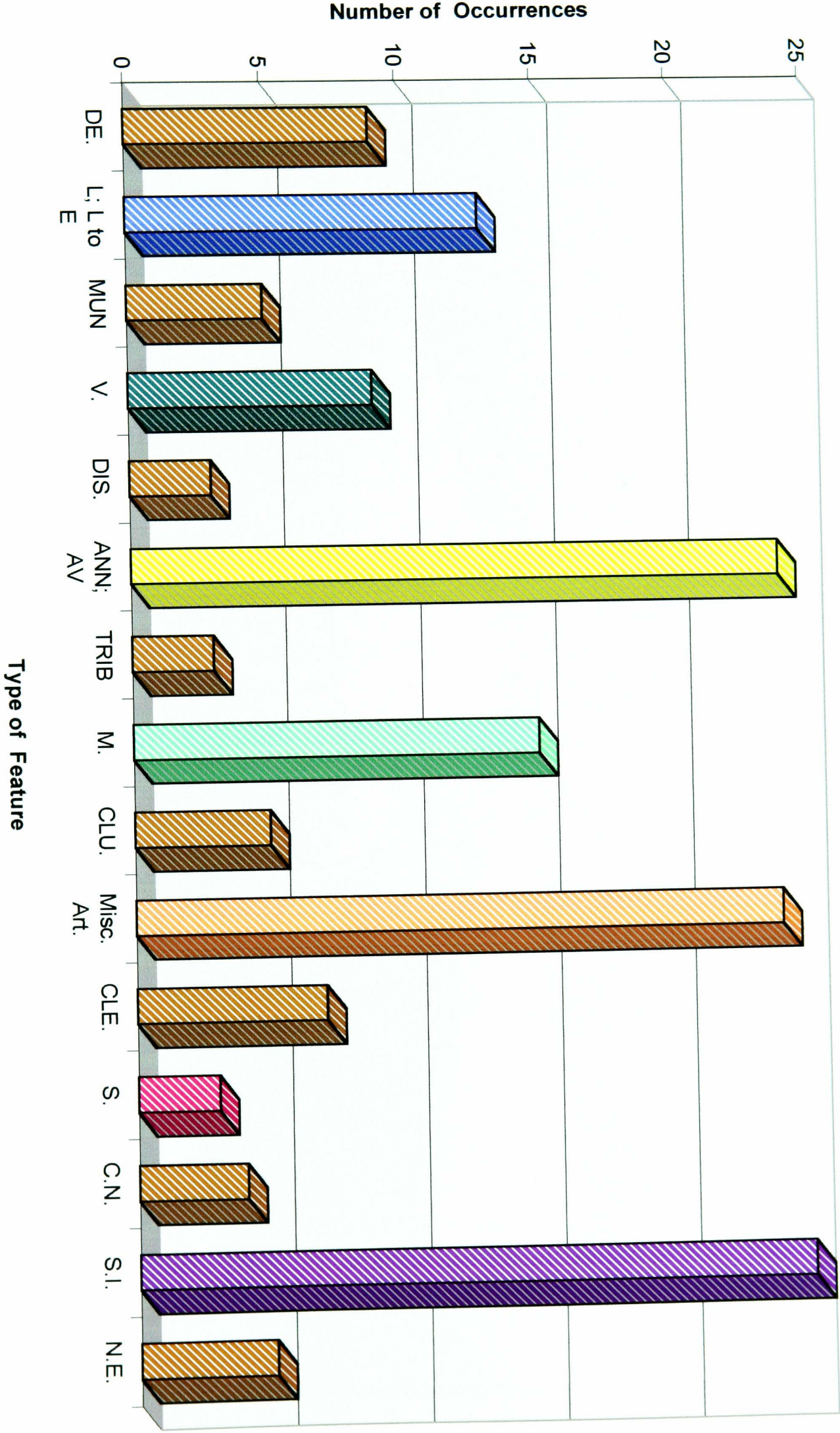
D.V. = Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine.
(Local news reports.)

S.I. = Subscription Information.

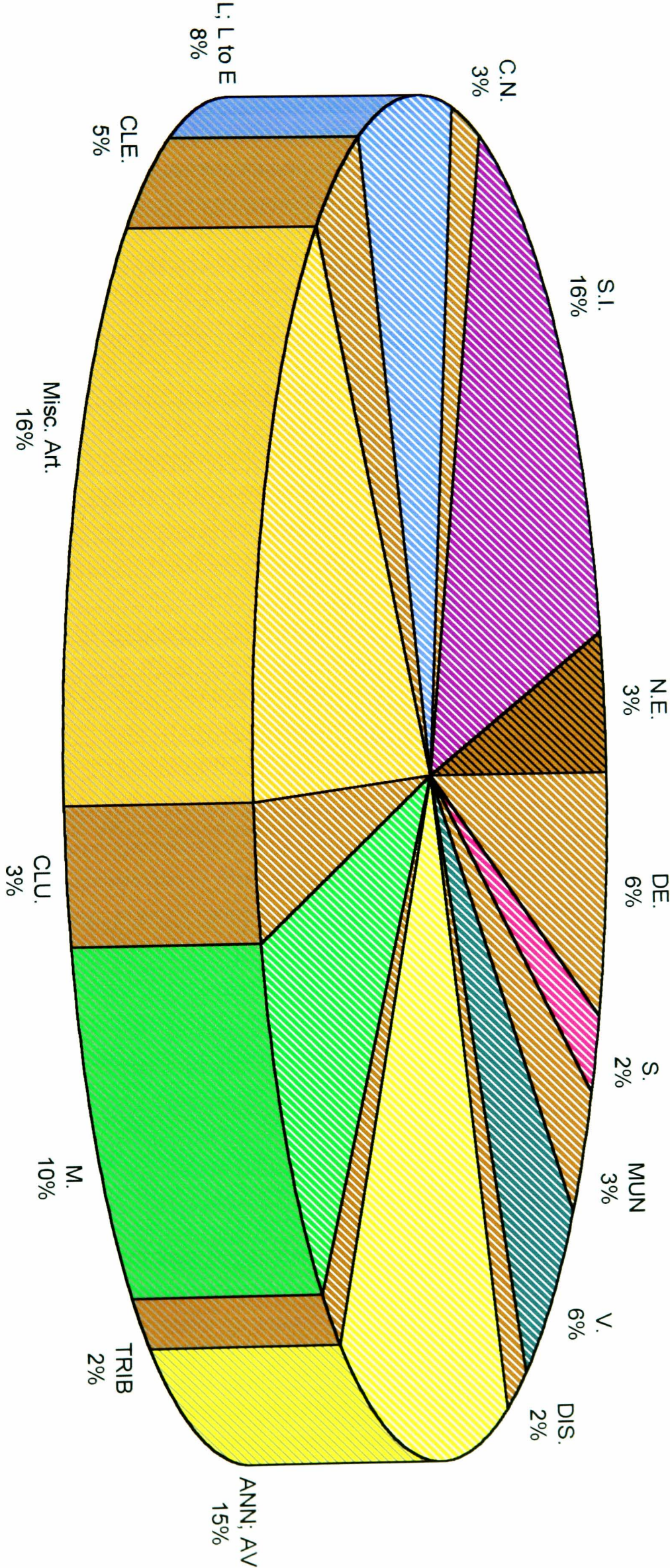
A; A aux A = Avis; Avis aux Abonnés.
(Small advertisements and
occasional extraordinary
subscription information.)

Note: The data on which these charts are based are taken from a sample of the issues of the *Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine*. The sample consisted of the forty-five issues from which I quoted, out of a total of several thousand.

Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in the Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du
Département de Rhône et Loire.



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of the Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire.



KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

DE. = Département.

(News of the acts of the
départemental authorities.)

CLU. = Clubs.

(News from various
local political clubs.)

L; L to E = Letters, Letters to the Editor.

Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous Articles.

MUN = Municipalité.

(News of the acts of the
municipal authorities of
Lyon.)

CLE. = Clergé.

(News of the activities of
(usually) non-juring priests.)

V. = Variétés.

(Amusing anecdotes and
details of forthcoming events.)

S. = Supplement.

DIS. = District.

(News of the activities of
the authorities and inhabitants
of the districts of the
département.)

C.N. = Convention Nationale.

(Procès-verbaux of the
sessions of the
legislative body.)

ANN; AV = Annonces; Avis.

(Small advertisements.)

S.I. = Subscription Information.

TRIB = Tribunaux.

(Details of the sessions and
judgements of the various
local courts.)

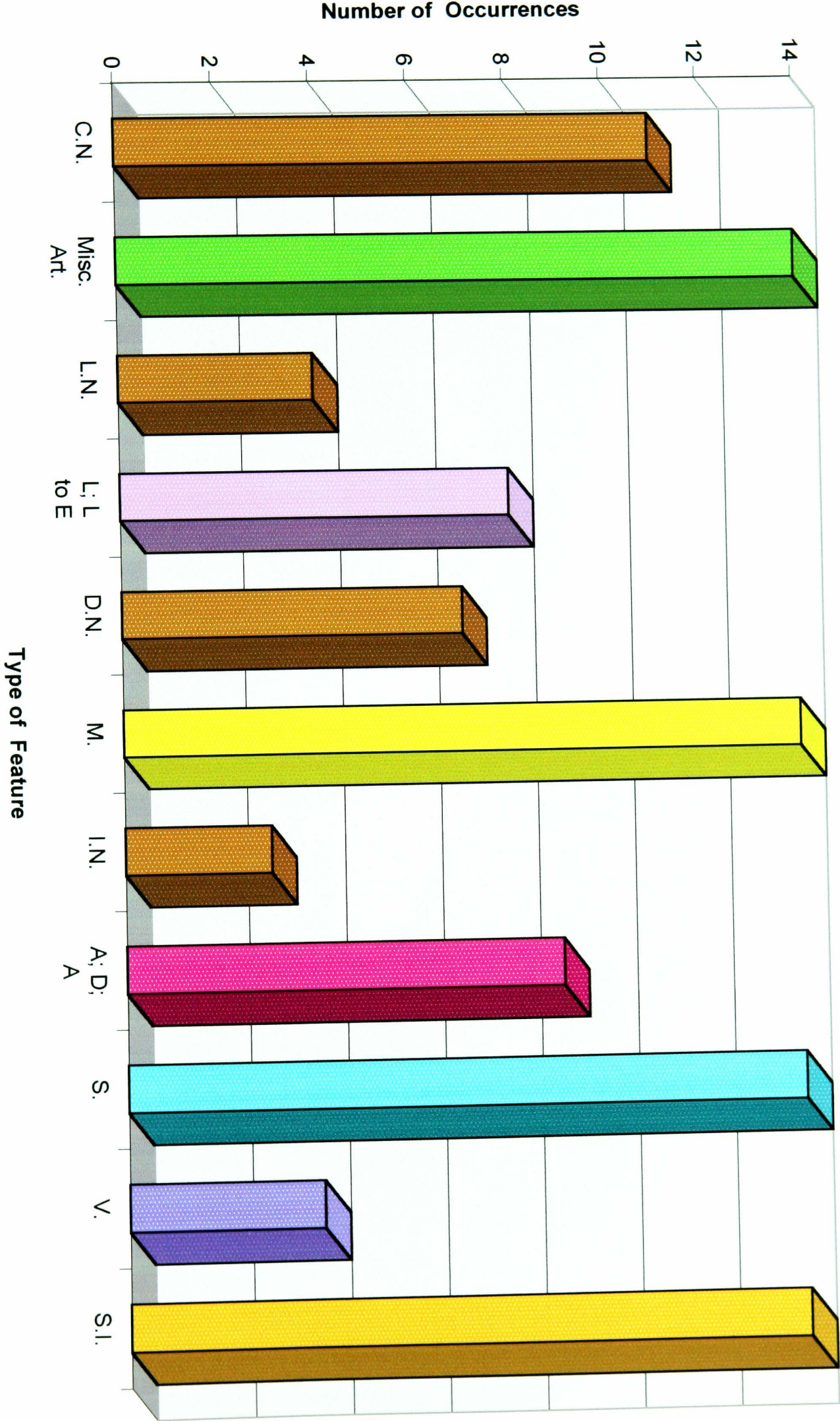
N.E. = Nouvelles Étrangères.

(Foreign news reports.)

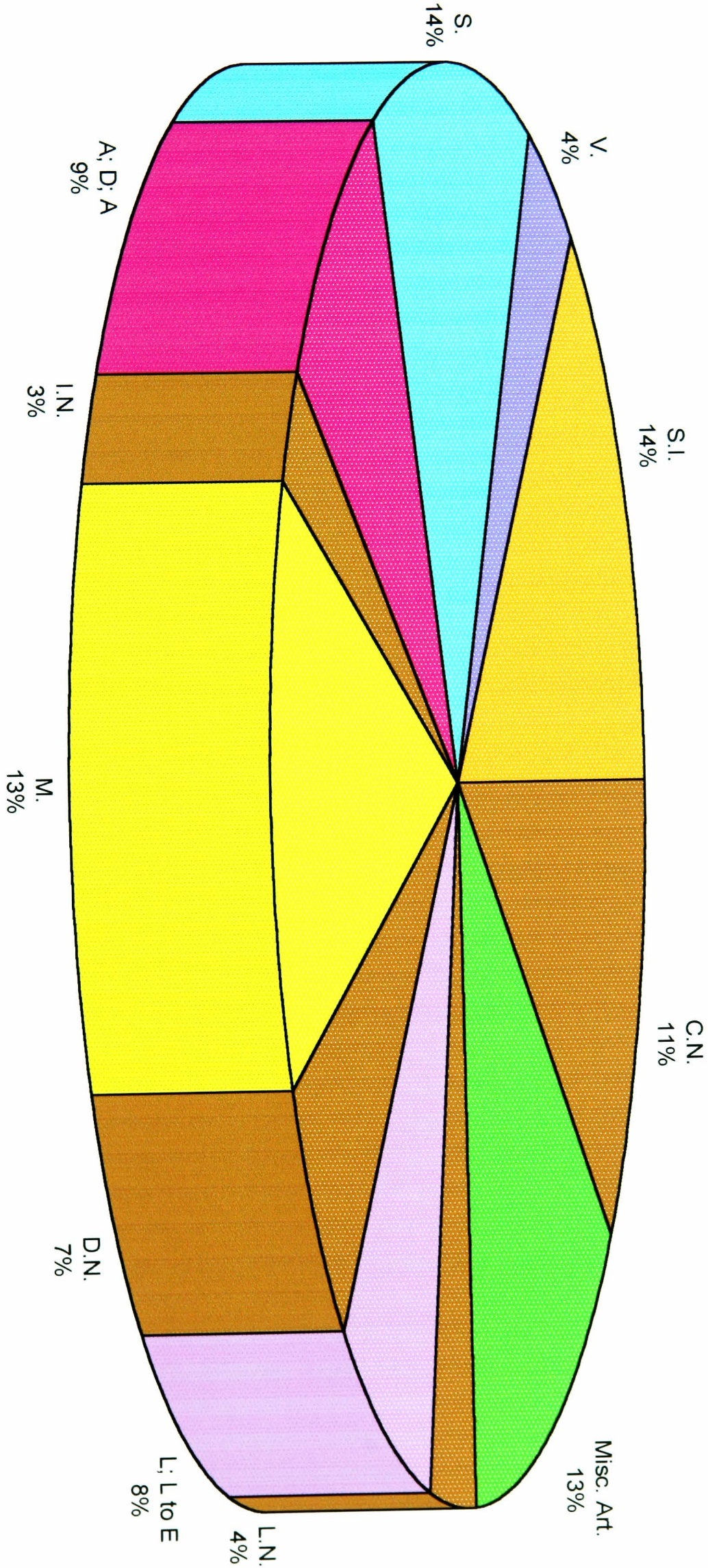
M. = Motto.

Note: The data on which these charts are based are taken from a sample of the issues of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*. The twenty-eight issues from which I quoted formed the sample, out of a total of several hundred.

The Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire.*



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of the Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire.



KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

C.N. = Convention Nationale. (Procès-verbaux of the sessions of the legislative body.)	I.N. = International News.
--	----------------------------

Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous Articles.	A; D; A = Annonce; Demande; Avis. (Small advertisements.)
--------------------------------------	--

L.N. = Local News.	S. = Supplement.
--------------------	------------------

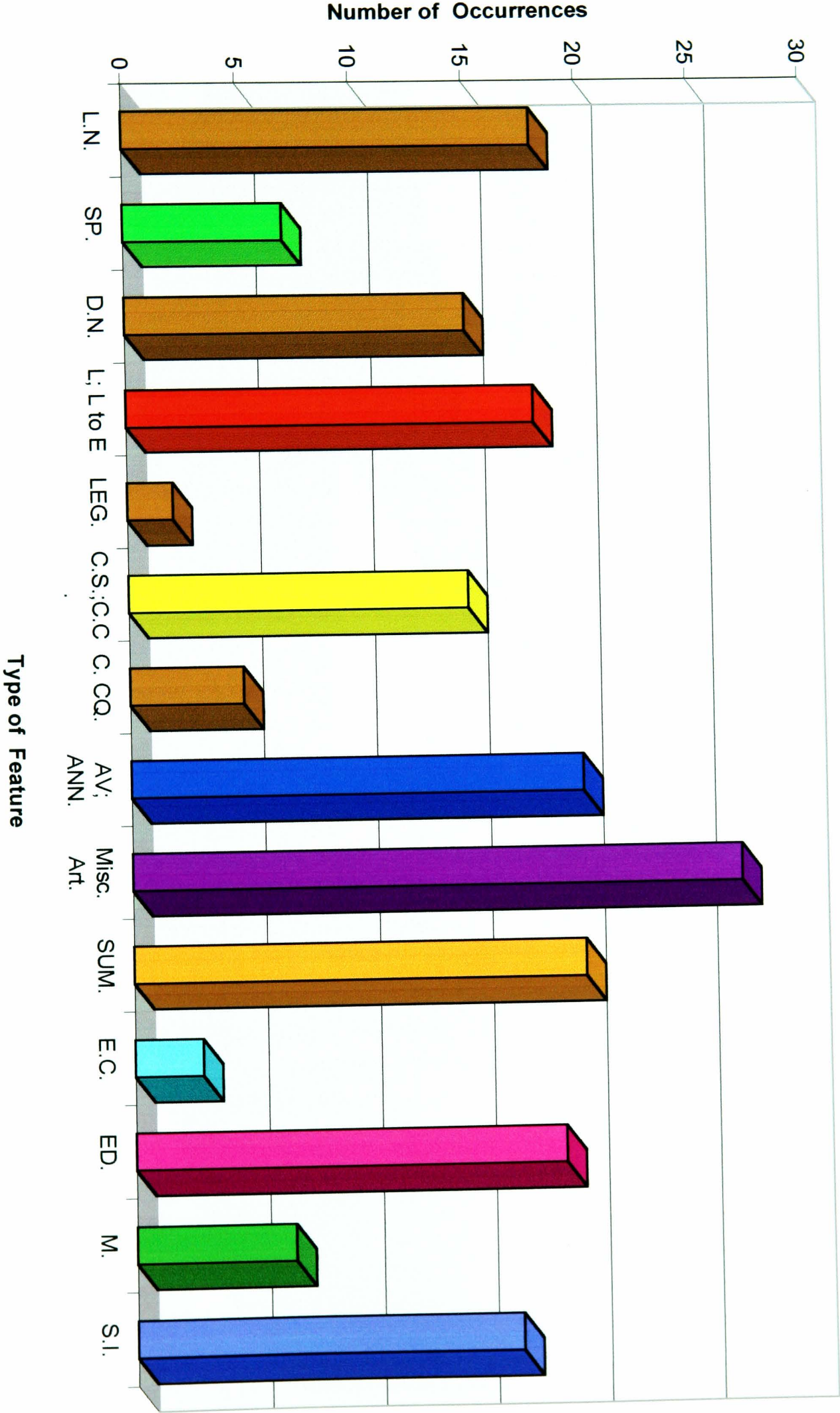
L; L to E = Letters, Letters to the Editor.	V. = Variétés. (Anecdotes, details of forthcoming events.)
---	--

D.N. = Domestic News.	S.I. = Subscription Information.
-----------------------	----------------------------------

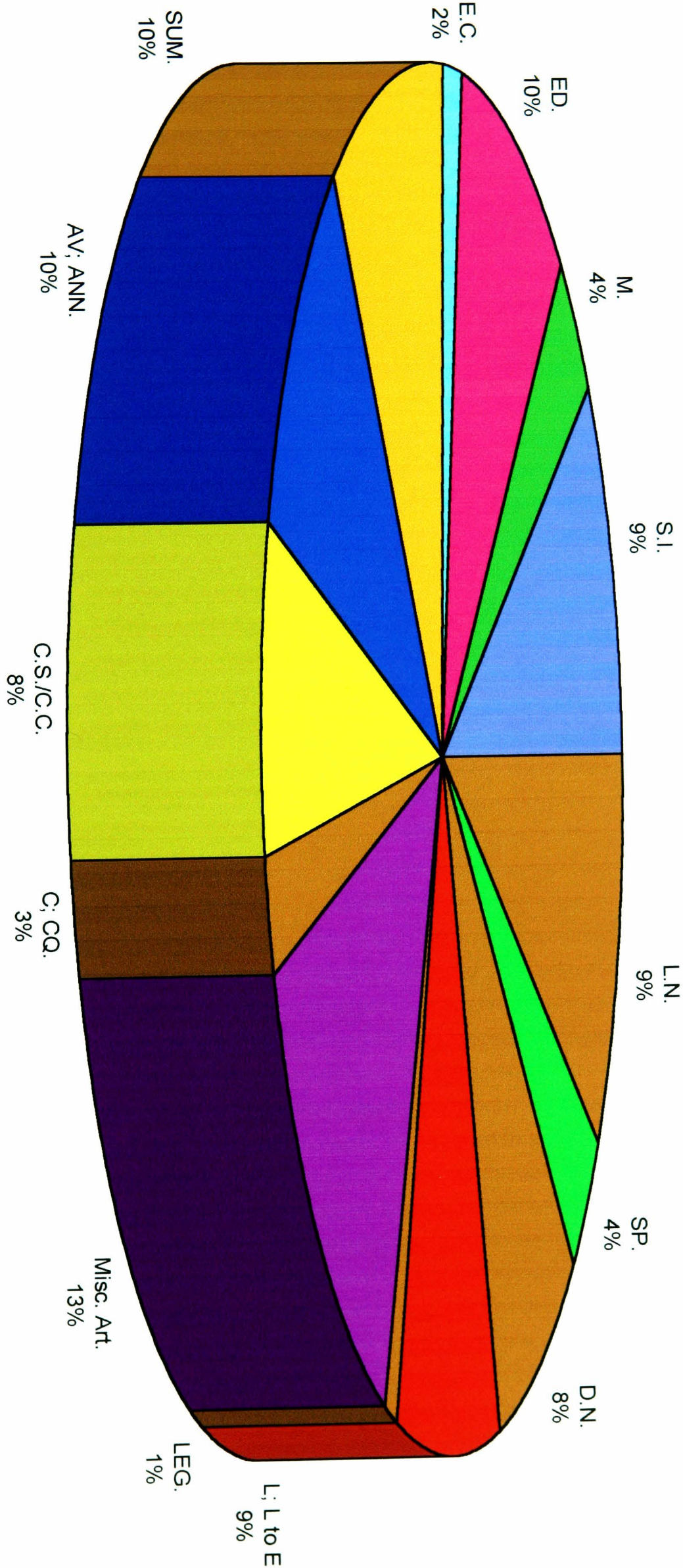
M. = Motto.

Note: The data on which these charts are based are taken from a sample of the issues of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire*. The sample consisted of the fourteen issues from which I quoted, out of a total of more than forty.

The Frequency of Occurrence of the Various Types of Feature in the *Journal de Lyon, et du*
Département de Rhône.



The Percentage Breakdown of the Contents of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône.*



KEY. (All of the news reports are coloured brown in the charts.)

L.N. = Local News.

AV; ANN = Avis; Annonces.
(Small advertisements.)

SP. = Spectacle.
(Theatre reviews.)

Misc. Art. = Miscellaneous Articles.

D.N. = Domestic News.

SUM = Summary of the contents
of the issue.

L; L to E = letters, Letters to the Editor.

E.C. = État Civil.
(Details of recent births,
deaths, marriages and
divorces.)

LEG = Législation.
(Details of recent laws
passed.)

ED. = Editorial.

C.S.; C.C = Cours des Soies; Cours
des Changes.
(Details of current exchange
prices for lengths of silk.
Also, foreign exchange rates.)

M. = Motto.

C.CQ = Conseil des cinq-cents.
(Procès-verbaux of the sessions
of the lower chamber of the
legislative body.)

S.I. = Subscription Information.

Note: The data on which these charts are based are taken from a sample of the issues of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône et Loire*. The sample consisted of the twenty-eight issues from which I quoted, out of a total of several hundred.

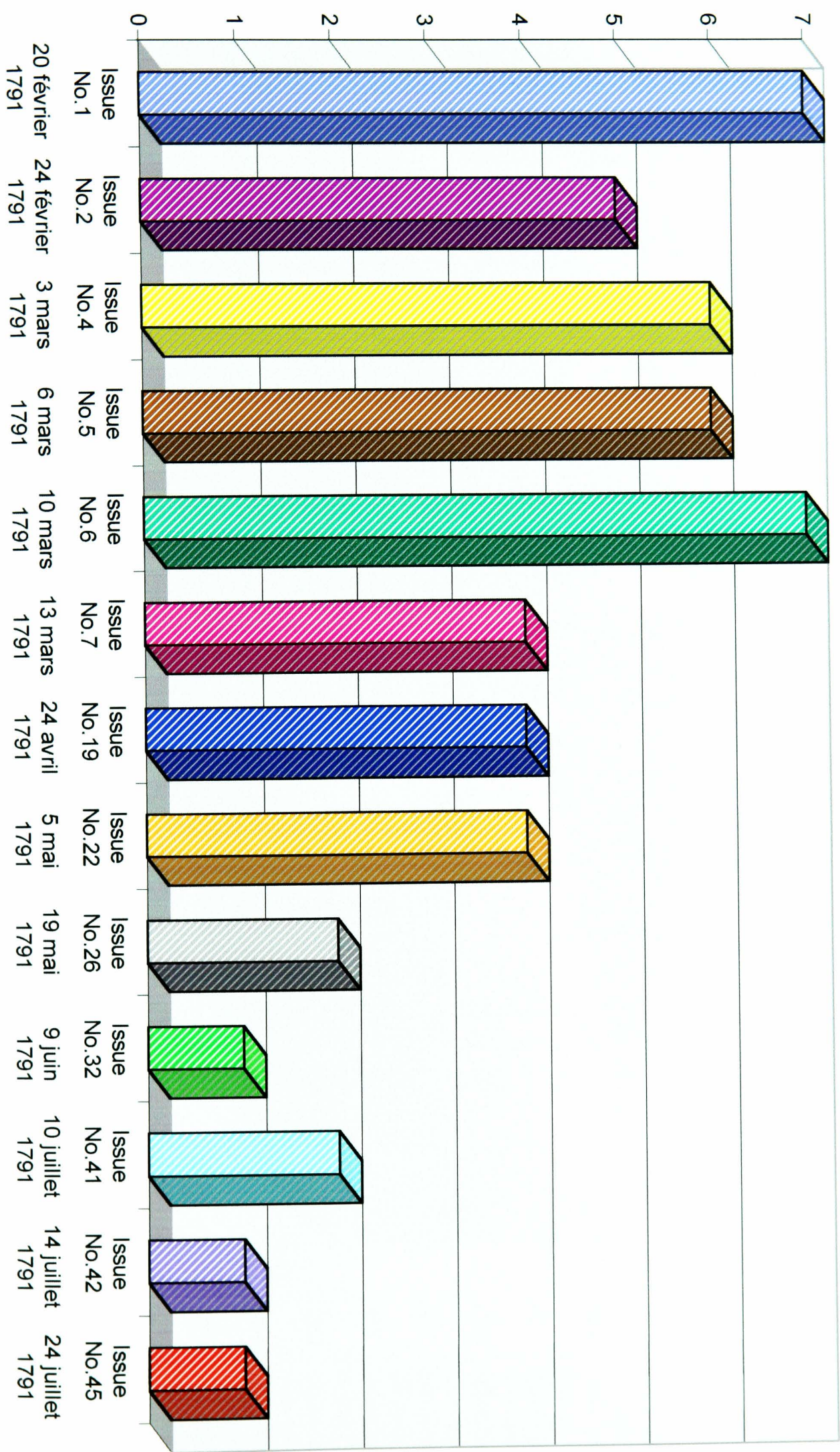
APPENDIX B.

Graphs relating to:

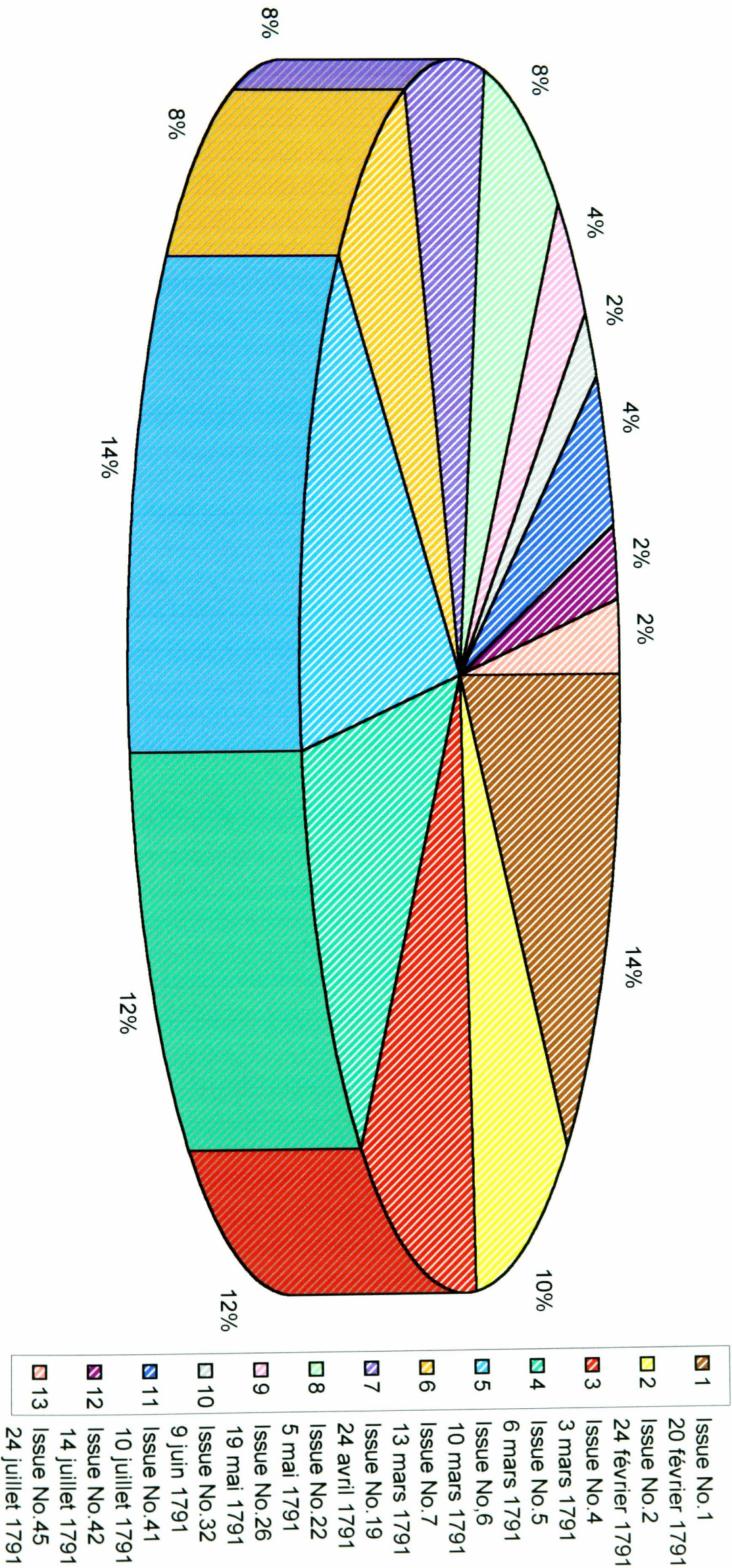
i.) <i>Le Courrier de l’Hymen</i>	pp. 310-11.
ii.) <i>Le Démocrate Français</i>	pp. 312-13.
iii.) <i>Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne</i>	pp. 314-15.
iv.) <i>Journal du Département d’Ille-et-Vilaine</i>	pp. 316-17.
v.) <i>Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire</i>	pp. 318-19.
vi.) <i>Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire</i>	pp. 320-21.
vii.) <i>Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône</i>	pp. 322-23.
Interpretative Notes	p. 324.

Note: Since there is only one type of feature in both *Le Père Duchesne* and the *Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire*, there are insufficient data to chart for these newspapers concerning the number of articles which mention women or which were composed by them.

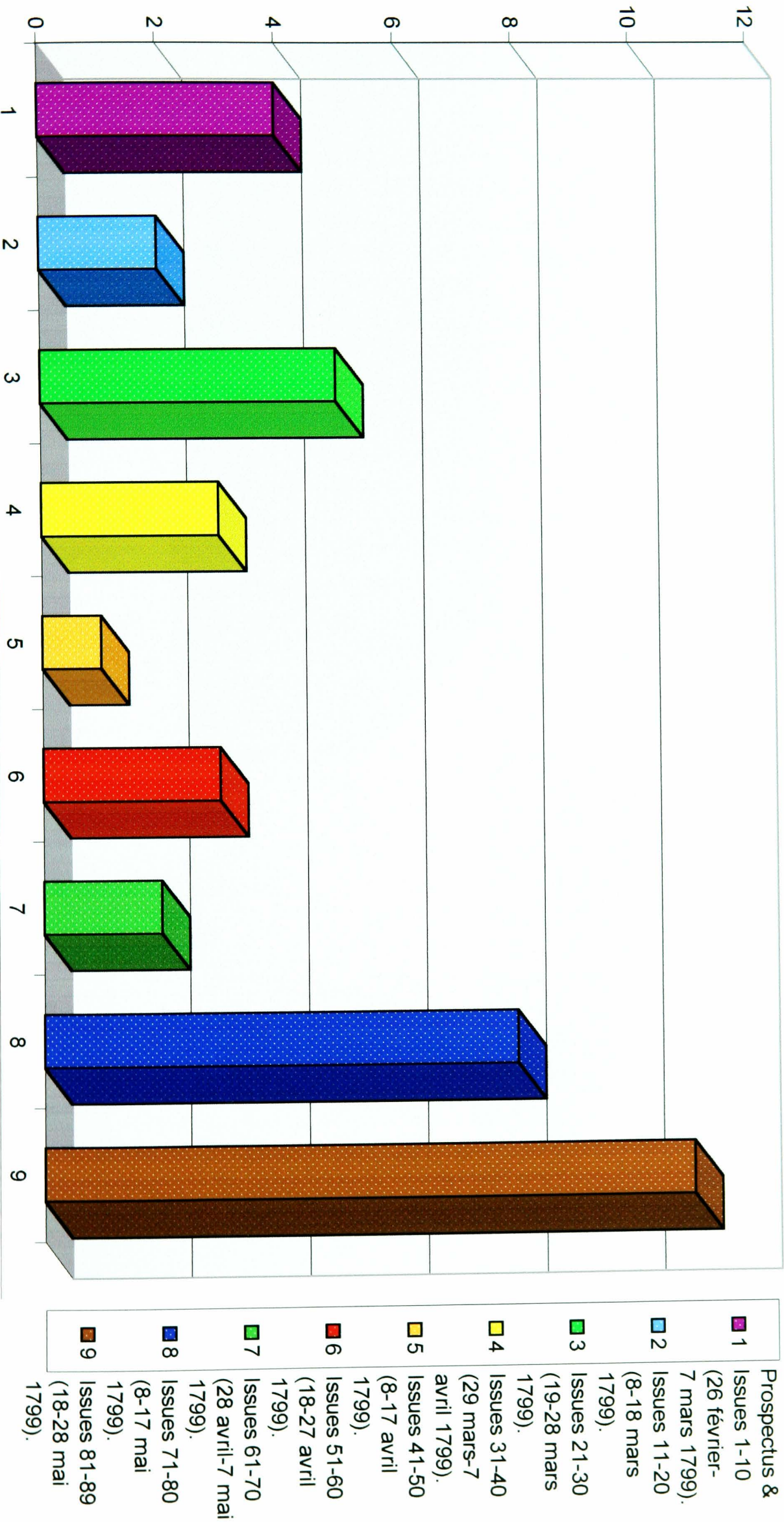
The Distribution Through the Issues of *Le Courier de l'Hymen* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).



Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of *Le Courier de l'Hymen* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).



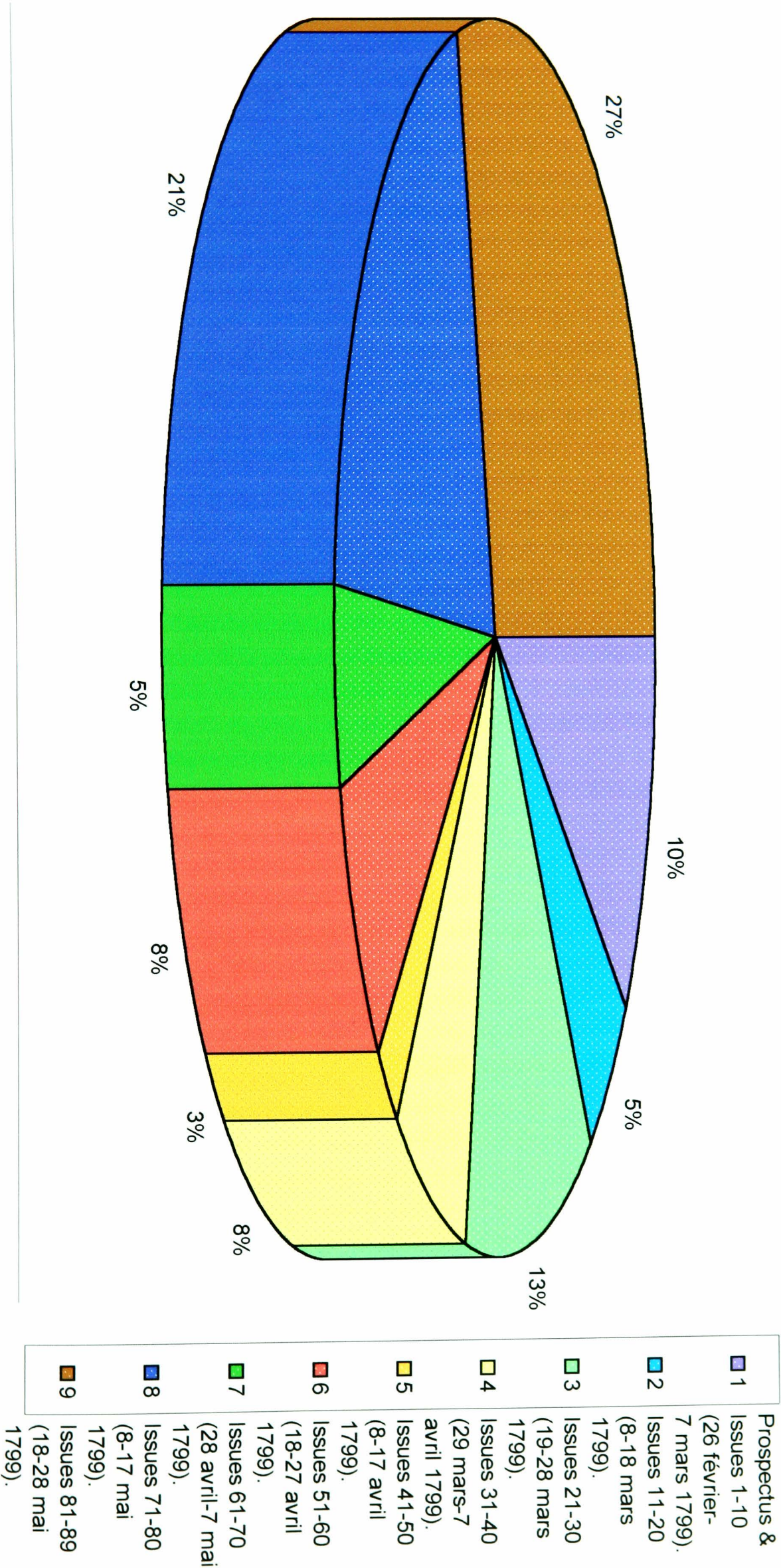
The Distribution Through the Issues of *Le Démocrite Français* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women). 1 (C. f. p. 16.)



Note: Issues 3-5, 9, 10, 14-18 and 40 are missing from the Bibliothèque Nationale's collection of *Le Démocrite Français*.

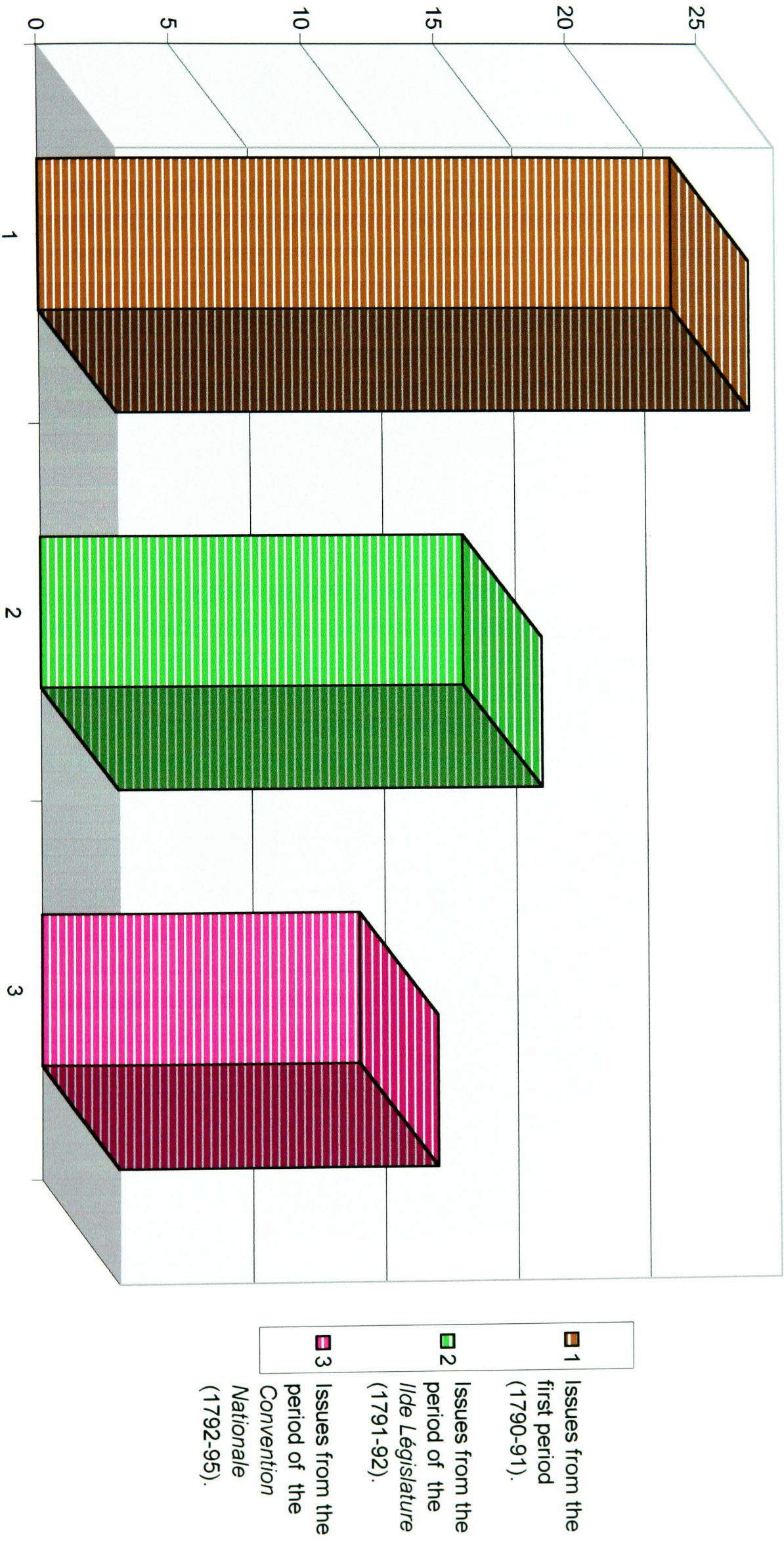
Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of *Le Démocrate Français* of the Source

Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women). ¹ (C. f. p. 16.)



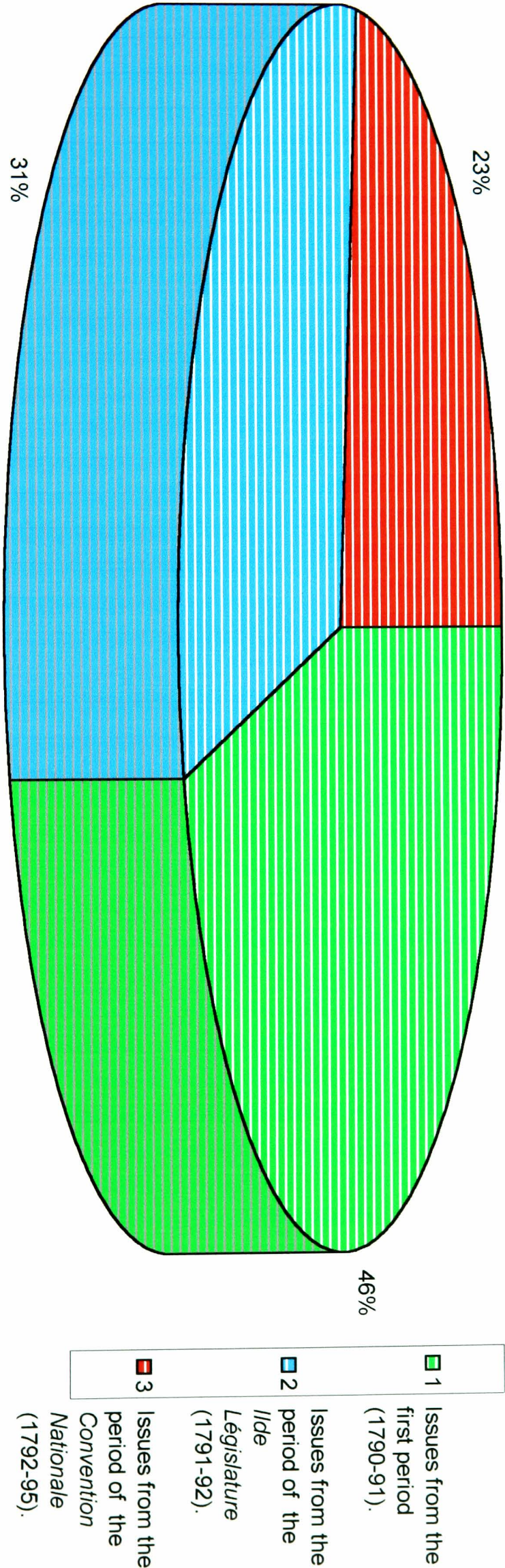
Note: Issues 3-5, 9, 10, 14-18 and 40 are missing from the Bibliothèque Nationale's collection of *Le Démocrate Français*.

The Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women). ² (C. f. p. 16.)

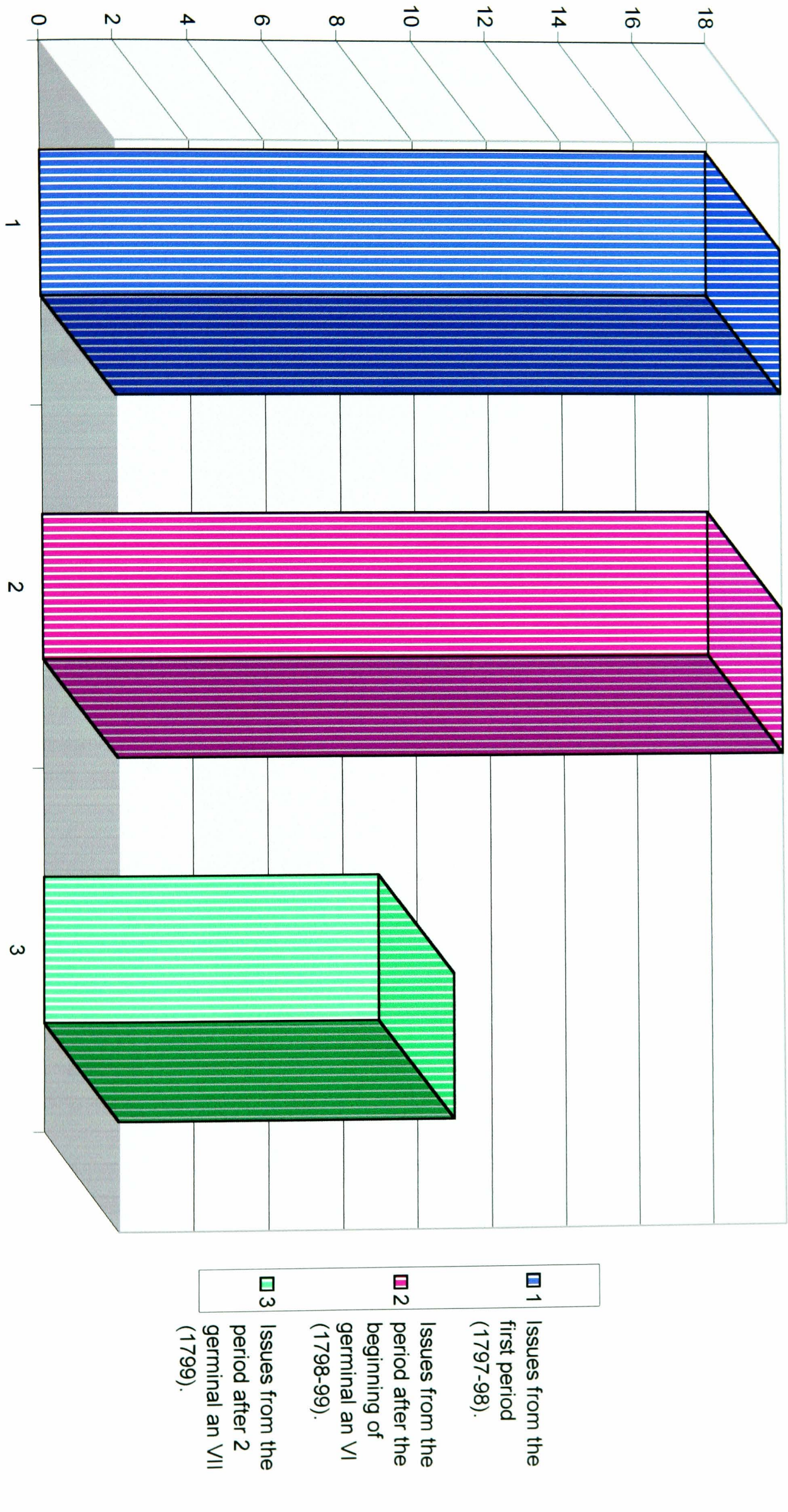


Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal des Départements*, *Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is , Features Written by or which Refer to Women).

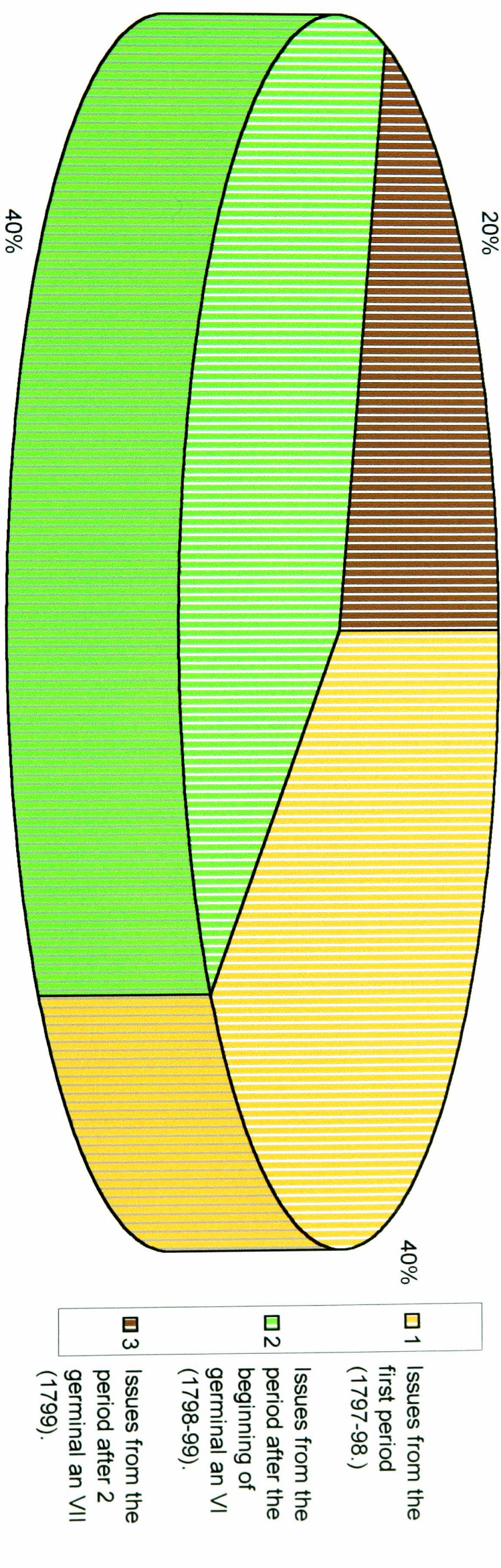
2 (C. f. p. 16.)



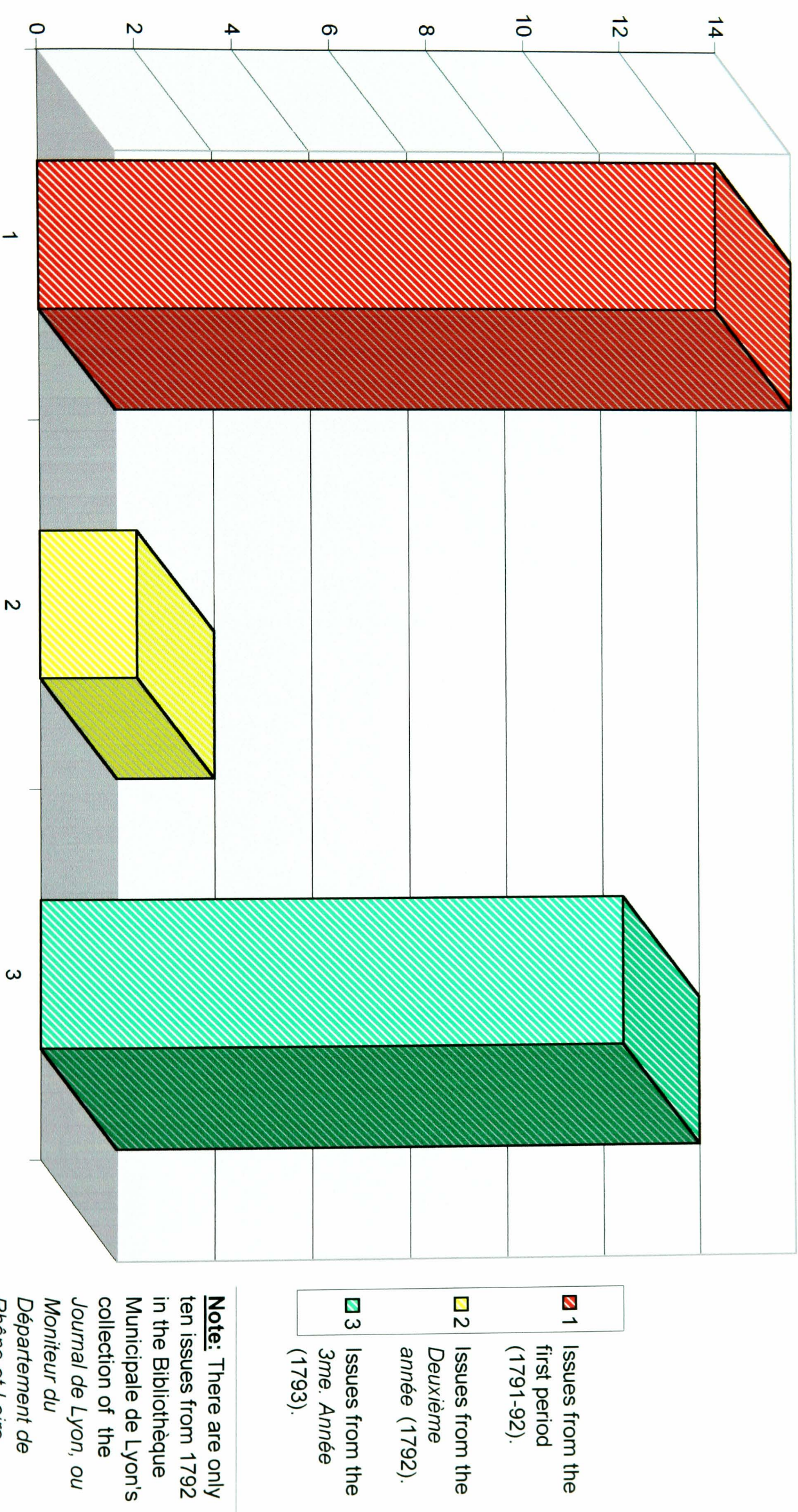
The Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).



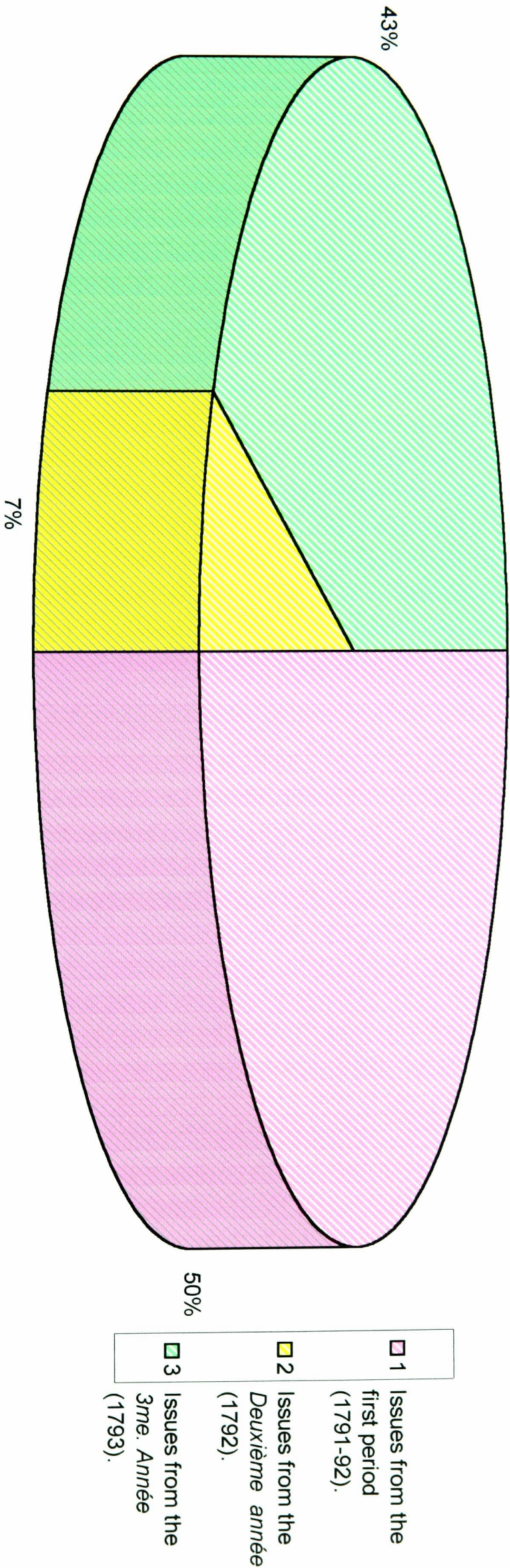
Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to *Women*).



The Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).

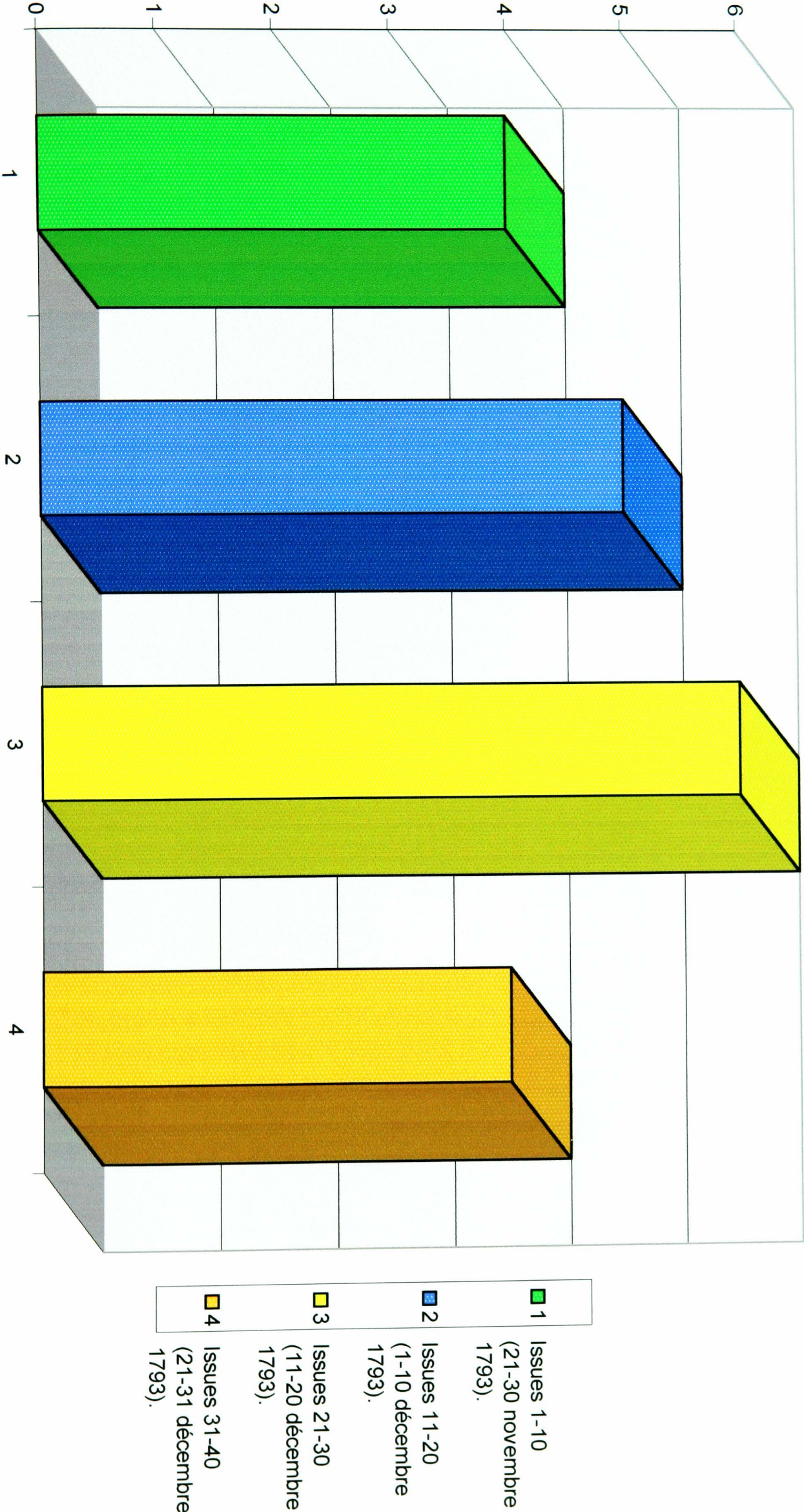


Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).

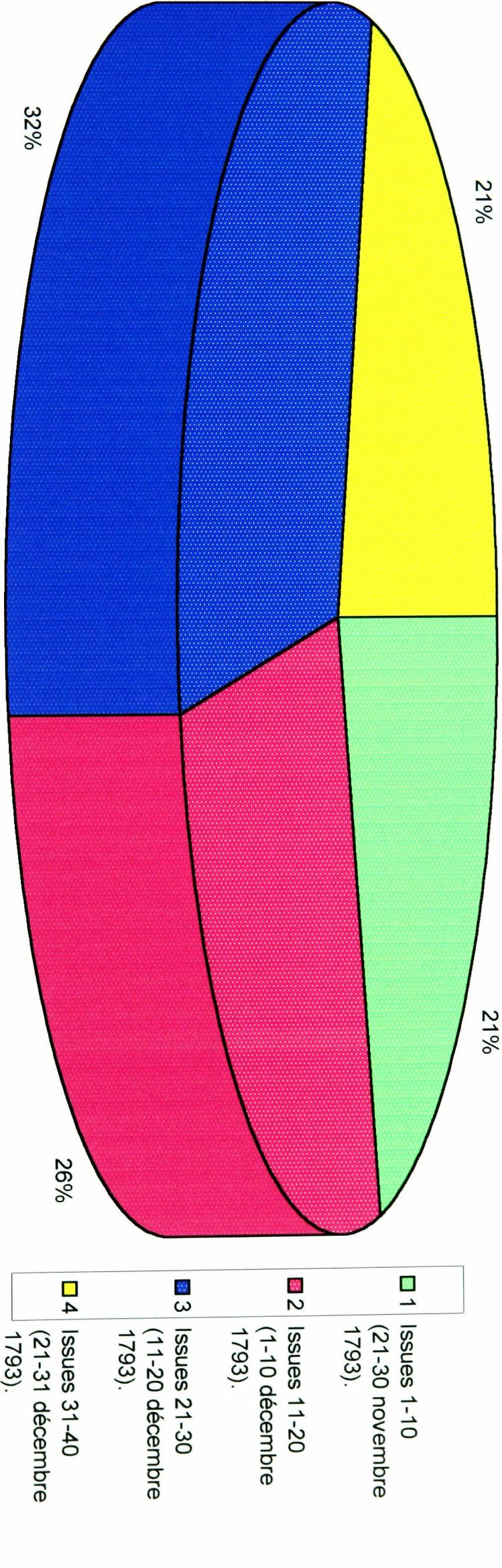


Note: There are only ten issues from 1792 in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon's collection of the *Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire*.

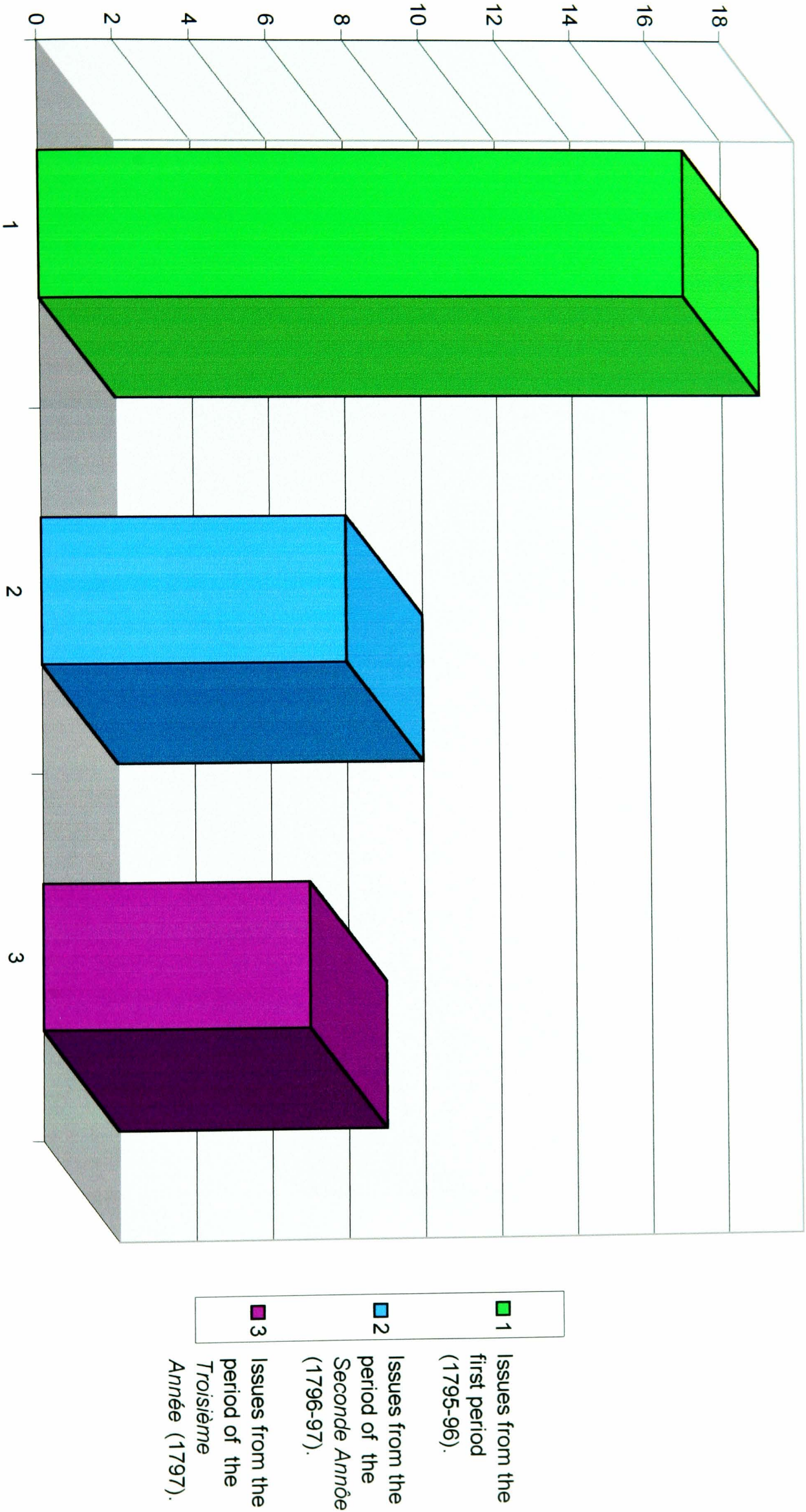
The Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).



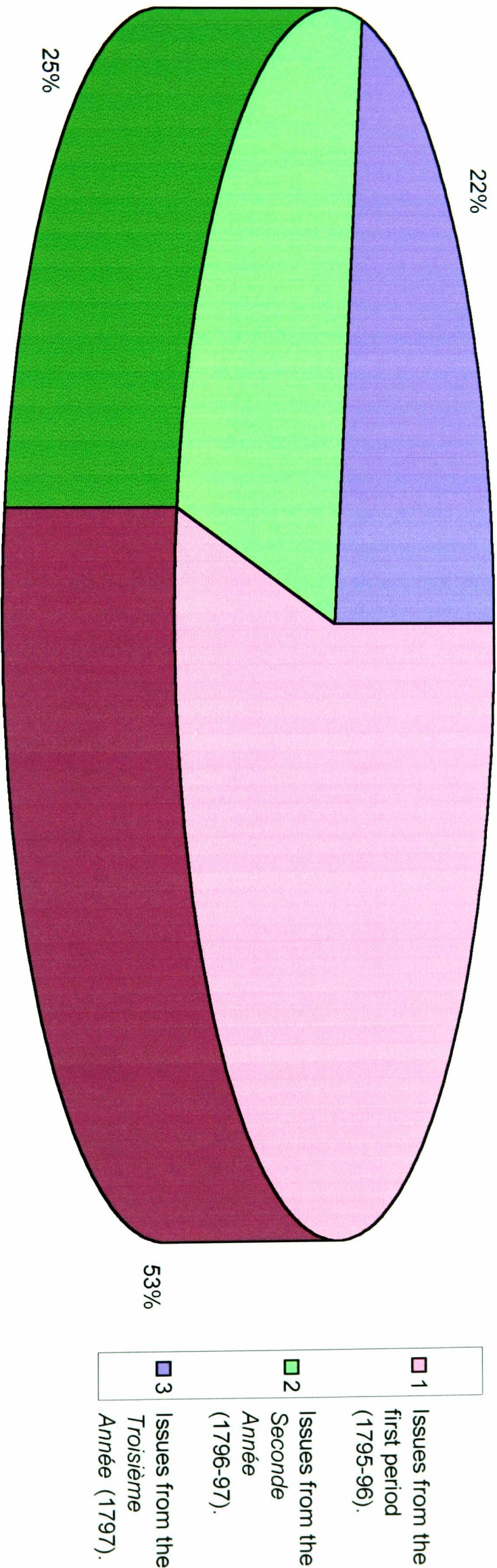
Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women).



The Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women). 3 (C. f. p. 16.)



Statistical Analysis of the Distribution Through the Issues of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône* of the Source Material for this Thesis (that is, Features Written by or which Refer to Women). ³ (C. f. p. 16.)



Interpretative Notes:

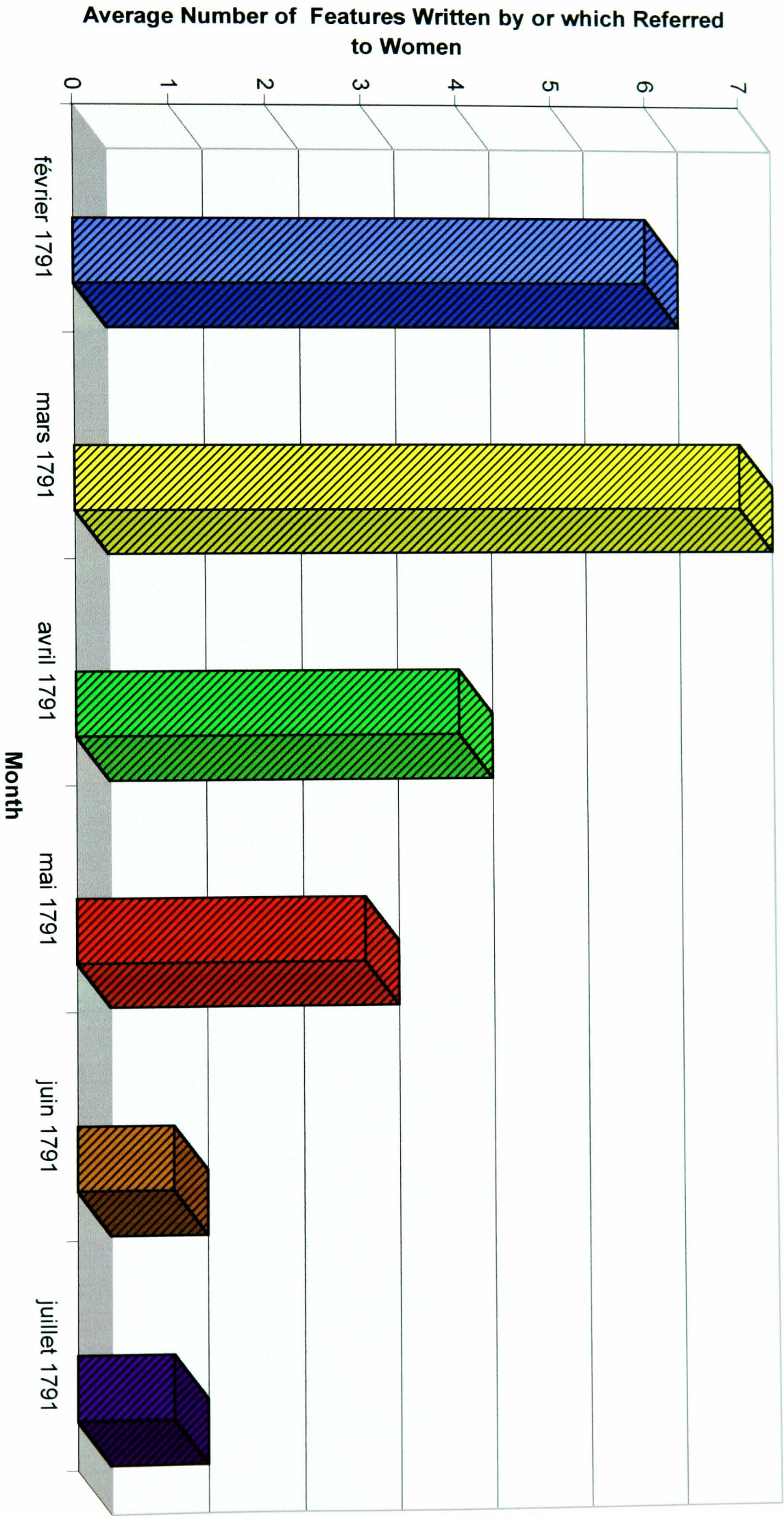
- 1) The number of features in *Le Démocrate Français* written by or which refer to women rises from issue 71 onwards because in these issues the amount of poetry published in the newspaper increased. In some cases the poems were acknowledged as the work of women and were written from a feminine perspective. More frequently, though, they took the form of romantic, gallant or lovelorn verses written by a man or in a masculine voice and addressed to a particular woman, either real or fictional.

- 2) In the *Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne*, the greatest number of features written by or which refer to women comes from the period 1790-91. This is because the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was decreed in 1791 and the female sex was at the forefront of the demonstrations against this law, demonstrations which were reported in this newspaper.

- 3) The majority of features written by or which refer to women occur in the first period of the *Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône*, in other words the years 1795-96, due to the fact that these years represent the part of the newspaper's life which was nearest in time to the Siege of Lyon and the Jacobin occupation of the city. Women's experiences under Jacobin rule were highlighted by the journal's editor as symbolising the dreadful suffering which the city had endured and various articles on this subject augmented the column space devoted to the female sex in the period mentioned above. The Jacobins' crimes apparently were all the worse for having involved wives and mothers.

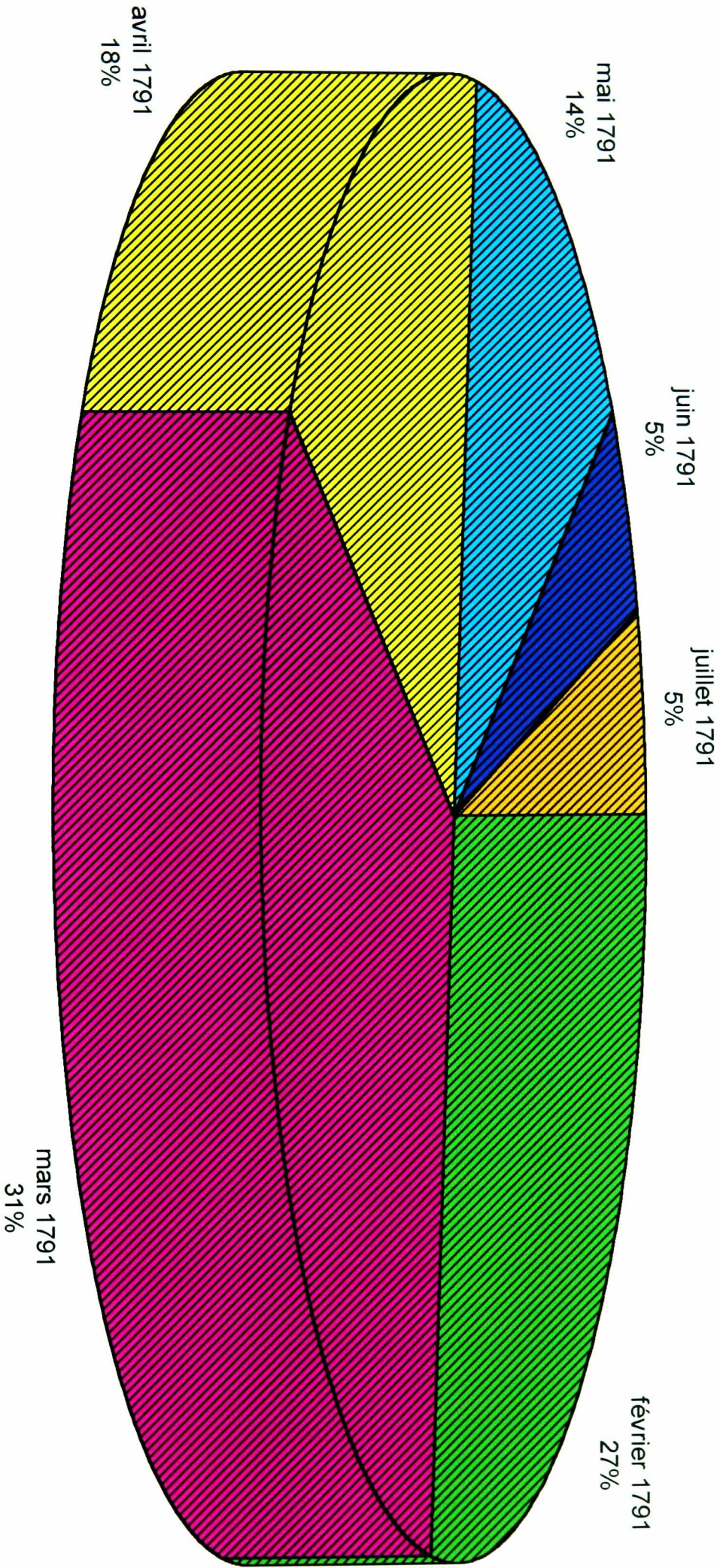
APPENDIX C

Average Number of Features Written by or Which Referred to Women in Each Month of *Le Courier de l'Hymen's* Existence.



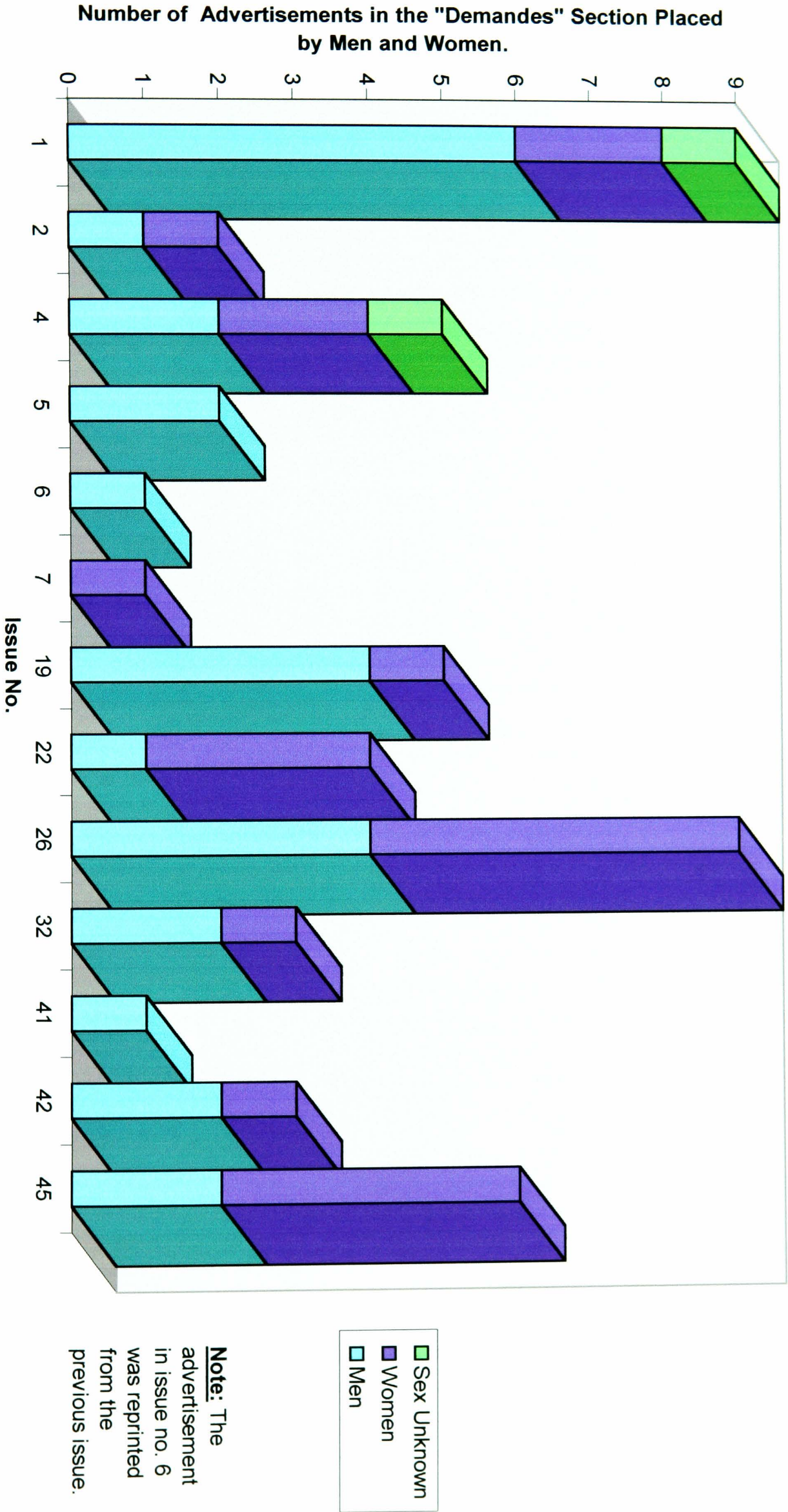
Note: The data on which this bar chart is based were calculated by dividing the total number of female-related features which appeared in a particular month, by the number of issues extant from that month.

Percentage Breakdown of the Number of Features Written by or Which Referred to Women in Each Month of Le Courier de l'Hymen's Existence.

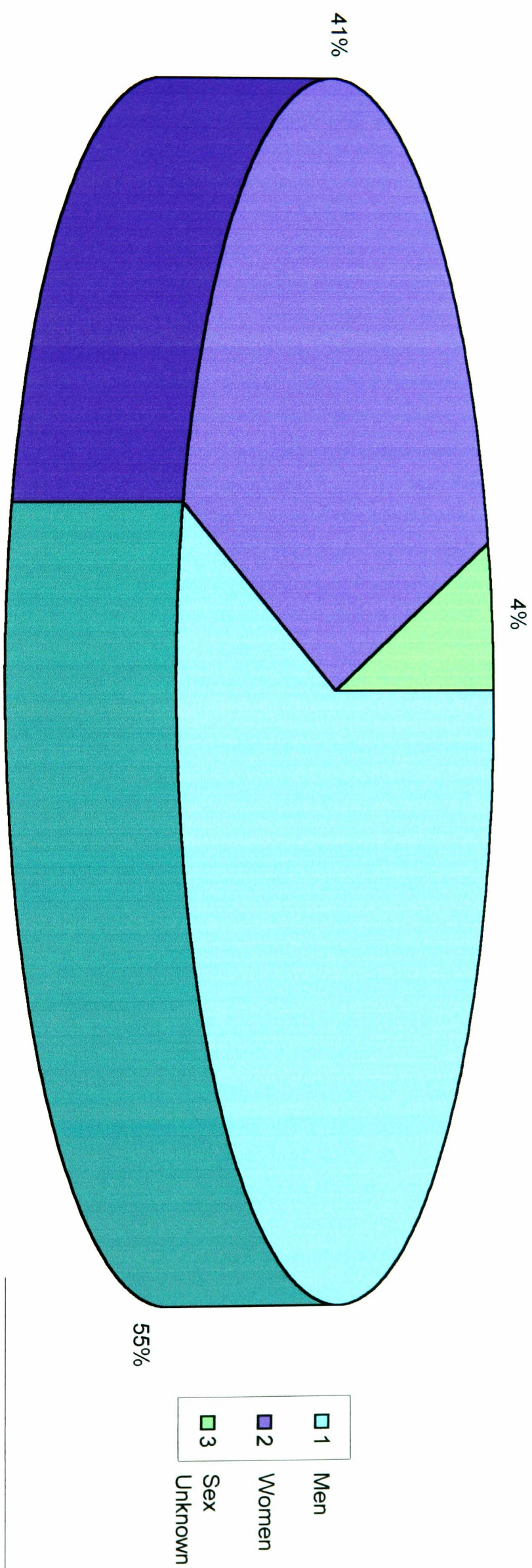


Note: The data on which this pie chart is based were calculated by dividing the total number of female-related features which appeared in a particular month, by the number of issues extant from that month.

The Number of Advertisements Placed by Male and Female Advertisers in the "Demandes" Section of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen* .

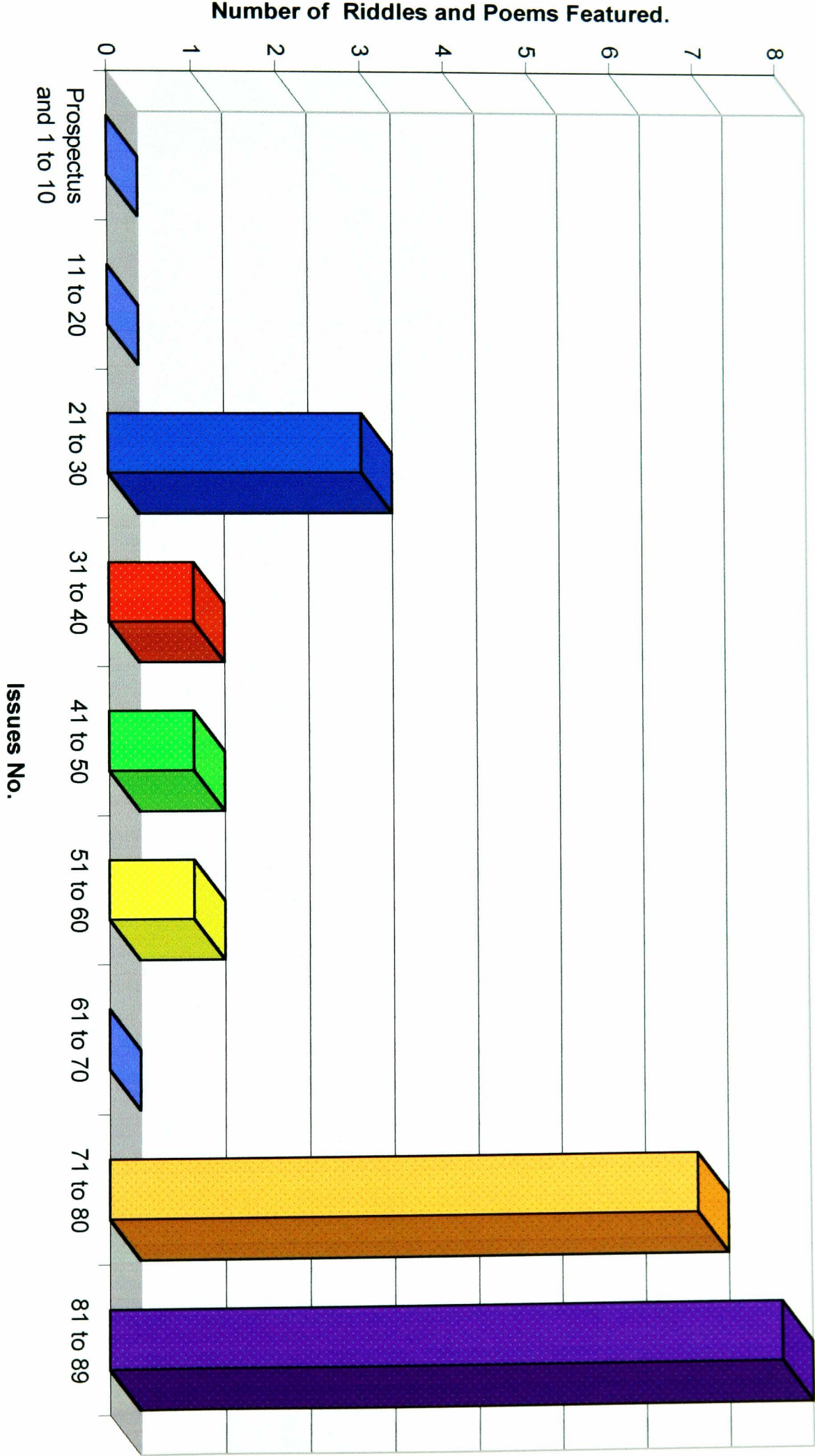


Statistical Analysis of the Number of Advertisements Placed by Male and Female Advertisers in the "Demandes" Section of *Le Courrier de l'Hymen*.



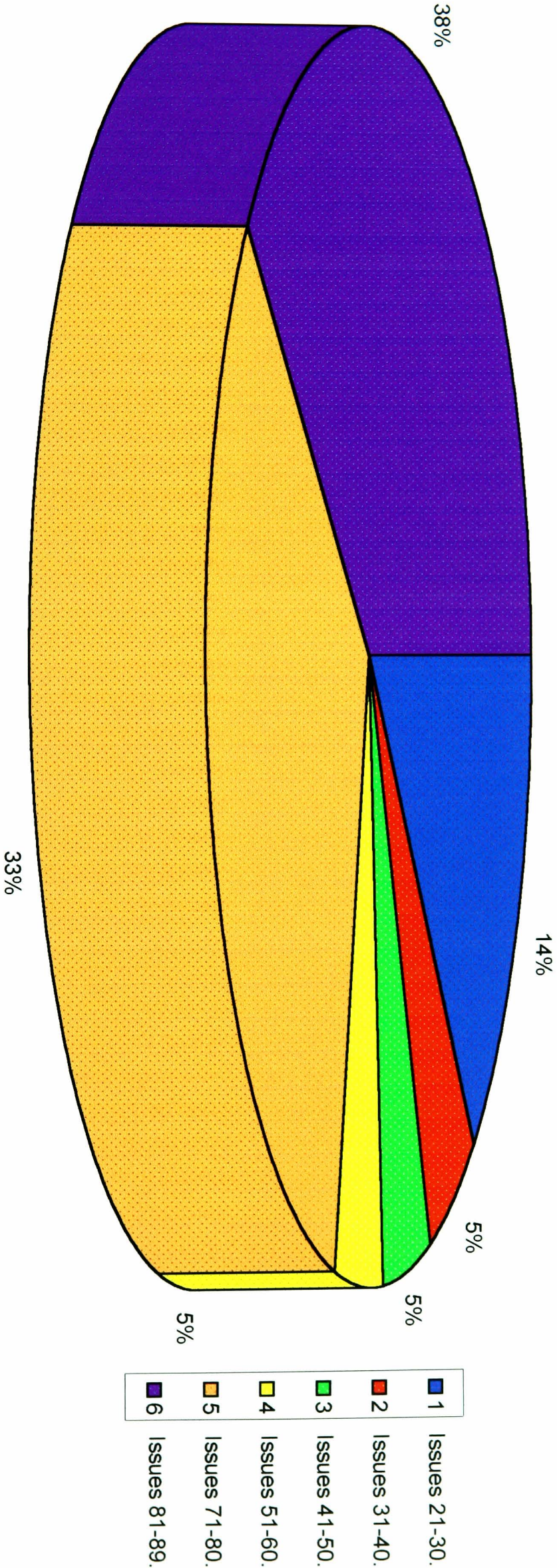
Note: The advertisement in issue no. 6 was reprinted from the previous issue.

The Distribution of Riddles and Poems Through the Issues of *Le Démocrate Français*.



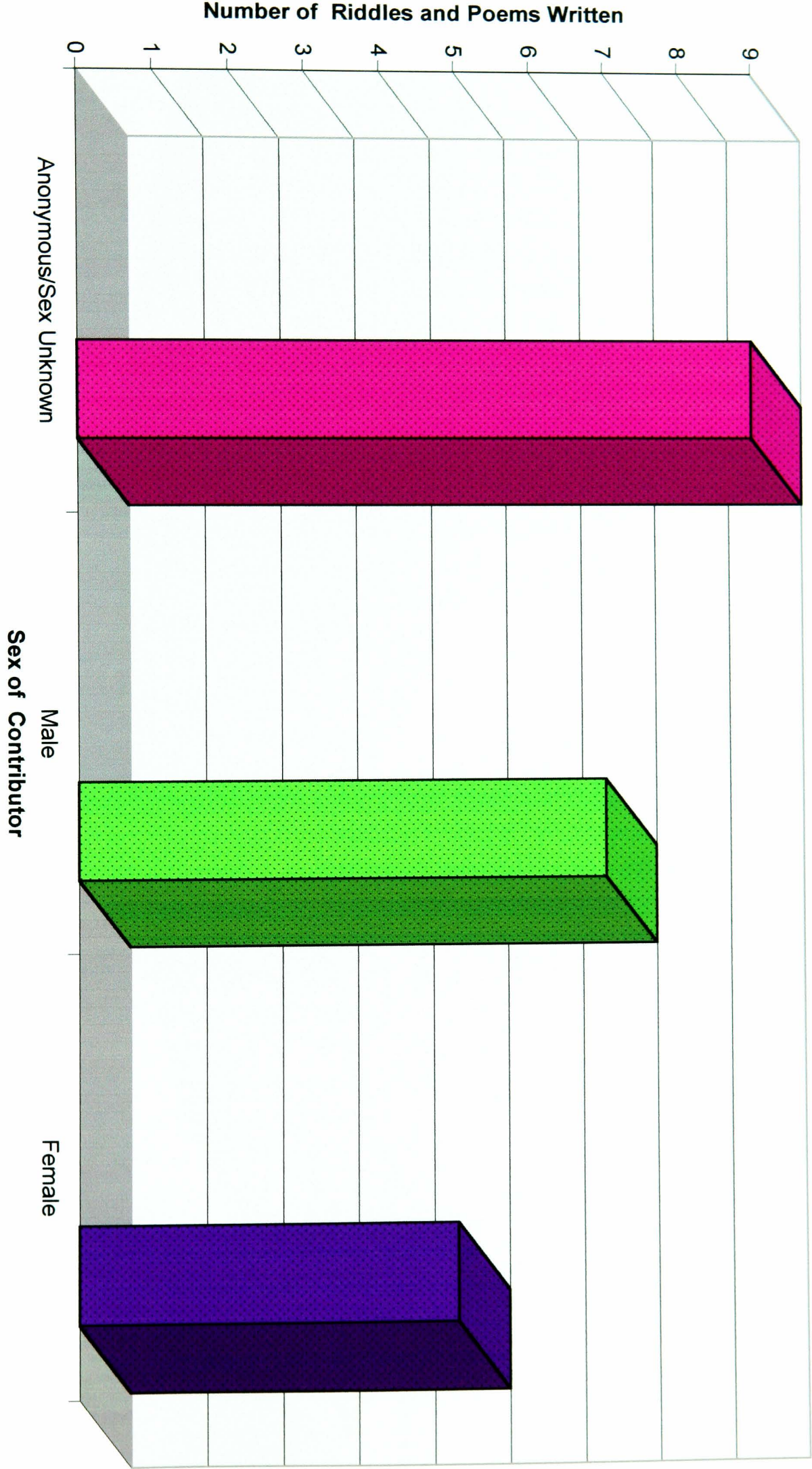
Note: This chart is based on all of the riddles and poems in *Le Démocrate Français* which were written by women or which referred to them. Issues 3-5, 9, 10, 14-18 and 40 are missing from the Bibliothèque Nationale's collection of *Le Démocrate Français*.

Statistical Analysis of the Distribution of Riddles and Poems Through the Issues of *Le Démocrite Français* :



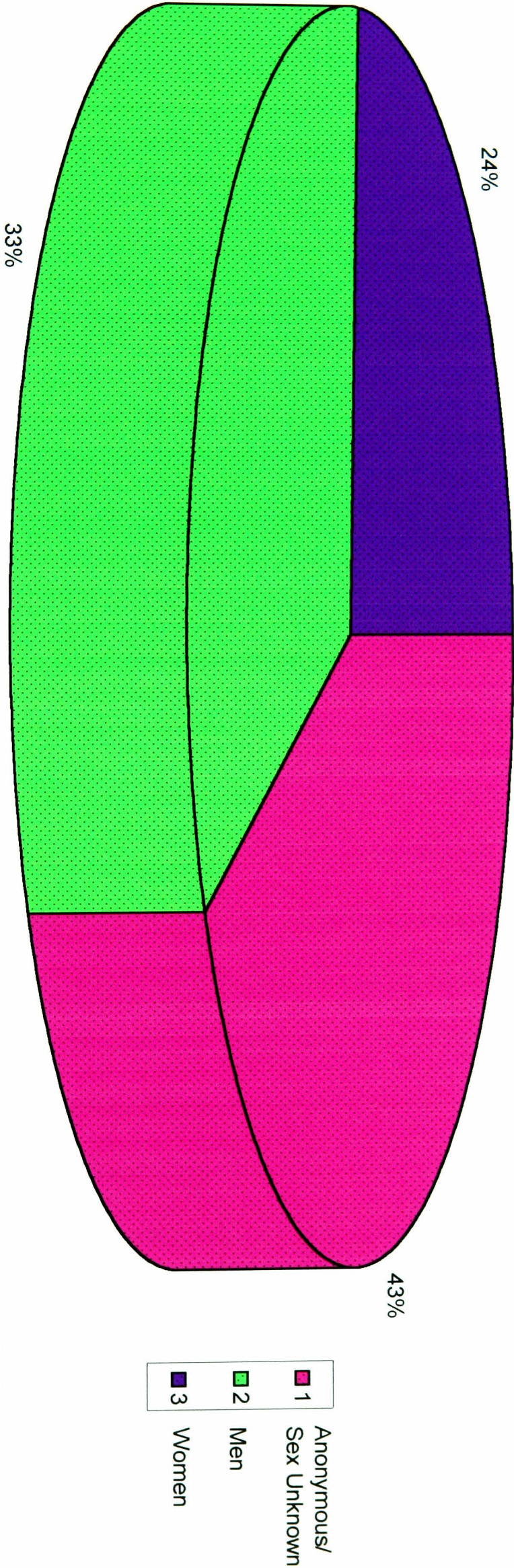
Note: This chart is based on all of the riddles and poems in *Le Démocrite Français* which were written by women or which referred to them. Issues 3-5, 9, 10, 14-18 and 40 are missing from the Bibliothèque Nationale's collection of *Le Démocrite Français*.

The Number of Riddles and Poems Contributed to *Le Démocrate Français* by Men and Women.



Note: This chart is based on all of the riddles and poems in *Le Démocrate Français* which were written by women or which referred to them.

Statistical Analysis of the Number of Riddles and Poems Contributed to *Le Démocrate Français* by Men and Women.



Note: This chart is based on all of the riddles and poems in *Le Démocrate Français* which were written by women or which referred to them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This bibliography has been compiled in accordance with the regulations laid out by the Centre for Social History at the University of Warwick.

Manuscript Sources.

Archives Départementales du Rhône.

Imprimerie et presse: surveillance des journaux 1791-an VIII. Série 1L. 459.

Newspapers and Periodicals.

L'Ami du Peuple (Paris, 1789-92).

Bulletin du Département de Rhône et Loire (Lyon, 1793).

Le Courrier de l'Hymen (Paris, 1791).

Le Démocrate Français (Paris, an VII (1799)).

Journal des Départements, Districts et Municipalités de la Ci-Devant Province de Bretagne
(Rennes, 1790-an IV (1795)).

Journal du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine (Rennes, an V (1797)-1819).

Journal de Lyon, et du Département de Rhône (Lyon, an III-an V (1795-97)).

Journal de Lyon, ou Moniteur du Département de Rhône et Loire (Lyon, 1791-93).

Journal de Ville-Affranchie, et des Départemens de Rhône et Loire
(Ville-Affranchie (Lyon), an II (1793-94)).

Le Père Duchesne (Paris, 1791-94).

Révolutions de Paris (Prudhomme), (Paris, 1789-94).

Primary Printed Sources.

Anonymous, *Hommage Aux Plus Jolies Et Vertueuses Femmes De Paris. Ou Nomenclature de la Classe la moins nombreuse* (Paris, 1790).

_____ *Réponse Des Armées Catholiques Et Royales De La Vendée Et Des Chouans.*

Au Rapport fait à la soi-disant Convention Nationale, dans la séance du 16 Juin

1795, par le soi-disant Représentant du Peuple, Doulcet (Maulevrier, 1795).

Bardin, P., *Taisez-vous, bavards, vous ne savez ce que vous dites* (Paris, 1790 ?).

Buisson, F.; also Boulabert, *fil*s ; Boichard; Cocheris; Morin, *Observations Présentées Au Conseil Des Anciens, Sur La Résolution du 13 brumaire, qui fixe à un taux excessif le Port des Journaux* (Paris, 1796).

Desloges, P., *La Prédiction Des Astronomes, Sur La Fin Du Monde, Accomplie, Ou la Régénération de l'Europe en travail* (Paris, an II (1793-94)).

Gouges, O. de, *Le Bon Sens François, Ou L'Apologie Des Vrais Nobles, Dédiée Aux Jacobins* (1792).

_____ *Déclaration des Droits de la Femme* (Paris, 1791).

Liger, *Coup D'Oeil Sur Les Ravages Que Le Conflict Des Opinions, Tant Politiques Que Religieuses, A Cause Dans La Vendée, Et Particulierement Dans Les Départemens, De La Sarthe Et De La Mayenne* (Paris, 1801).

Lucas, C. (Ed.-in-Chief), *The French Revolution Research Collection* (12 vols., Oxford, 1989-92).

Mercier, L.-S., *Le Nouveau Paris*, (6 vols., Paris, 1797).

_____ *Le Tableau de Paris*, (12 vols., Amsterdam, 1788).

Mithois, P. C. F., *Discours Prononcé au faubourg Antoine, dans le Temple de la Liberté: Par Le Citoyen Mithois, Le premier vendemiaire de l'an 6, anniversaire de la fondation de la république* (Paris, 1797).

Roger, A., *Hommage A La Vertu* (Tours, 1794).

Roland, M., *Mémoires de Madame Roland* (2 vols., Paris, 1905).

Rousseau, J.-J., *Emile ou de l'éducation* (Paris, 1966).

Vial, J.-A., *Causes De La Guerre De La Vendée Et Des Chouans, Et L'Amnistie Manquée* (Angers, 1795).

Wollstonecraft, M., *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1992).

Secondary Printed Sources.

- Aftalion, *The French Revolution: An Economic Interpretation* (trans. Martin Thom), (Cambridge, 1990).
- Albert, P. and Terrou, F., *Histoire de la presse* (Vendôme, 1979).
- Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities* (1991).
- Ariès, P., *Centuries of Childhood* (1962).
- Badinter, E., *The Myth of Motherhood. An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct* (1981).
- Baker, K. M., "Politics and Public Opinion Under the Old Regime: Some Reflections", in Censer, J. R. and Popkin, J. D. (eds.), *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 204-46.
- Barnard, H. C., *Education and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1969).
- Benhamou, R., "The Verdigris Industry in Eighteenth-Century Languedoc: Women's Work, Women's Art ", *French Historical Studies*, 16, no. 3 (1990), pp. 560-75.
- Benoit, B. and Saussac, R., *Guide Historique de la Révolution à Lyon 1789-1799* (Lyon, 1988).
- Bertaud, J.-P., *The Army of the French Revolution. From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power* (trans. R. R. Palmer), (Princeton, 1988).
- _____, "L'Ami du Roi de l'abbé Royou", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): Chisick, H. (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 221-27.
- Bloch, J., "Laclos and Women's Education ", *French Studies*, 38 (1984), pp. 144-58.
- _____, "Rousseauism and education in eighteenth-century France ", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 325 (1995), pp. 1-261.
- Braud, P.; Cardot, C.; Champy, J.-L.; Despres, G.; Gravot, D.; Hostiou, R.; Laingui, A.: Le Meur, J. and Le Pennec, J. (under the direction of Juret, P. M.), *La Presse à Rennes* (Rennes, 1964).
- Censer, J. R., *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (1994).

Chartier, R., *Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1988).

_____ *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, North Carolina, 1991).

_____ *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton, 1987).

_____ *The Culture of Print. Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*
(Cambridge, 1989).

_____ "The Practical Impact of Writing" in Ariès, P. and Duby, G. (general eds.).

A History of Private Life, vol. III: Chartier, R. (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance*
(Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), pp. 111-59.

_____, Compère, M. M. and Julia, D., *L'Éducation en France du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle*
(Paris, 1976).

Chisick, H., "Pamphlets and Journalism in the Early French Revolution: The Offices of the
Ami du Roi of the Abbé Royou as a Center of Royalist Propaganda", *French
Historical Studies*, XV, no. 4 (1988), pp. 623-45.

Coffin, J. G., "Gender and the Guild Order: The Garment Trades in Eighteenth-Century
Paris", *Journal of Economic History*, 54, no. 4 (1994), pp. 768-93.

Collomp, A., "Families: Habitations and Cohabitations" in Ariès, P. and Duby, G.
(general eds.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. III: Chartier, R. (ed.), *Passions of the
Renaissance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), pp. 493-529.

Coward, D., "The Philosophy of Restif de La Bretonne", *Studies on Voltaire and the
Eighteenth Century*, 283 (1991), pp. 1-878.

Cronin, V., *Napoleon* (1971).

Darnton, R., *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (1996).

_____ *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*
(New York, 1984).

_____ *The Kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in Cultural History* (New York, 1990).

_____ "The Literary Revolution of 1789", *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*.

21 (1991), pp. 3-26.

The Literary Underground of the Old Regime (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982).

“Le livre prohibé aux frontières: Neuchâtel”, in Martin, H.-J., Chartier, R. and Vivet, J.-P. (eds.), *Histoire de l'Édition Française* (4 tomes, Paris, 1982-1986): tome II, *Le livre triomphant 1660-1830* (1984), pp. 342-59.

Davidoff, L. and Hall, C., *Family Fortunes. Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (1987).

Dekker, R. M. and van de Pol, L. C., “ Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies ”, *History of European Ideas*, 10, no. 3 (1989), pp. 353-63.

Denis, M., *Rennes. Berceau de la Liberté. Révolution et démocratie, une ville à l'avant-garde* (Rennes, 1989).

Duhet, P.-M., *Les Femmes et la Révolution 1789-1794* (Paris, 1971).

Edelstein, M., “*La Feuille villageoise* and rural political modernisation”, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): Chisick, H. (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 237-60.

La Feuille Villageoise. Communication et Modernisation dans les Régions Rurales Pendant la Révolution (Paris, 1977).

Edmonds, W. D., *Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyon 1789-1793* (Oxford, 1990).

Eisenstein, E. L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (complete in one volume) (Cambridge, 1980).

Elyada, O., “ La Mère Duchesne. Masques Populaires et Guerre Pamphlétaire 1789-1791 ”, *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 60, no. 271 (1988). pp. 1-16.

Fairchilds, C., *Domestic Enemies. Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France*

(Baltimore, 1984).

_____ “ The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris ” in Brewer, J. and Porter, R. (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), pp. 228-48.

_____ “ Women and Family ” in Spencer, S. I. (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 97-110.

Farge, A., *Vivre dans la rue à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1979).

Fauré, C., “ Les Constituants de 1789 avaient-ils la volonté délibérée d’évincer les femmes de la vie politique ? ”, *History of European Ideas*, 15, nos. 4-6 (1992), pp. 537-42.

Feyel, G., *La Gazette en Province à Travers ses Réimpressions, 1631-1752* (Amsterdam, 1982).

_____ “La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: géographie d’un réseau”, *Revue Historique*, CCLXXII (1984), pp. 353-374.

Forrest, A., *The French Revolution and the Poor* (Oxford, 1981).

_____ *Soldiers of the French Revolution* (Durham, North Carolina, 1990).

_____ *The Revolution in Provincial France. Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford, 1996).

Fox-Genovese, E., “ Women and Work ” in Spencer, S. I. (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 111-27.

Freud, S., “ Family Romances ” in Strachey, J. (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. IX: 1906-1908 (1959), pp. 235-41.

_____ “ Moses and Monotheism ” in *The Penguin Freud Library*, vol. 13: *The Origins of Religion* (1990), pp. 237-386.

Furet, F. and Ozouf, J., *Lire et Écrire. L’alphabétisation des Français* (2 vols., Paris, 1977).

Gardiner, L., “ Women in Science ” in Spencer, S. I. (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 181-93.

Gelbart, N. R., *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France. Le Journal des Dames* (Berkeley, 1987).

_____ “The *Journal des dames* and Its Female Editors: Politics, Censorship, and Feminism in the Old Regime Press”, in Censer, J. R. and Popkin, J. D. (eds.), *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 24-74.

Gélis, J., “The Child: From Anonymity to Individuality” in Ariès, P. and Duby, G. (general eds.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. III: Chartier, R. (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), pp. 309-25.

Godineau, D., *Citoyennes Tricoteuses. Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Aix-en-Provence, 1988).

_____ “Femmes en Citoyenneté: Pratiques et Politique”, *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 67, no. 300 (1995), pp. 197-207.

Gough, H., *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (1988).

Graham, R., “Women versus Clergy, Women pro Clergy” in Spencer, S. I. (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 128-40.

Grevet, R., “L’instruction des ruraux dans le Pas-de-Calais au début de la Révolution Française”, *Revue du Nord*, 69 (1987), pp. 309-22.

Gullickson, G. L., *Spinners and Weavers of Auffay. Rural industry and the sexual division of labour in a French village, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986).

Gutwirth, M., *The Twilight of the Goddesses. Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, 1992).

Habermas, J., *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence). (Cambridge, 1989).

Hesse, C., “Economic Upheavals in Publishing” in Darnton, R. and Roche, D. (eds.), *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 69-97.

- _____ *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810* (Berkeley, 1991).
- Hobbes, T., "De Corpore Politico" in idem., *Human Nature and De Corpore Politico* (Oxford, 1994).
- _____ *Leviathan* (Oxford, 1996).
- Hufton, O. H., *The Poor in Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789* (Oxford, 1974).
- _____ *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992).
- _____ "Women in Revolution", *Past and Present*, 53 (1971), pp. 90-108.
- _____ "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of Family History*, 9, no. 4 (1984), pp. 355-376.
- Hunt, L., *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984).
- _____ *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992).
- Jacobus, M., "Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution", in Melzer, S. E. and Rabine, L. W. (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 54-75.
- Jones, C., "The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution", *The American Historical Review*, 101, no. 1 (1996), pp. 13-40.
- _____ *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (1988).
- Jones, J. M., "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France", *French Historical Studies*, 18, no. 4 (1994), pp. 939-67.
- Kelly, L., *Women of the French Revolution* (1987).
- Kennedy, M. L., *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The First Years* (Princeton, 1982).
- _____ *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The Middle Years* (Princeton,

1988).

_____ *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles, 1790-1794* (Ithaca, 1973).

Labrosse, C., "Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire", in idem., Rétat, P. and

Duranton, H. (eds.), *L'Instrument Périodique. La fonction de la presse au XVIII^e siècle* (Lyon, 1985), pp. 11-136.

Laclos, C. de, "De l'éducation des femmes" in Allem, M. (ed.), *Oeuvres Complètes de Choderlos de Laclos* (Paris, 1951), pp. 403-05.

Landes, J. B., "Representing the Body Politic: The Paradox of Gender in the Graphic Politics of the French Revolution", in Melzer, S. E. and Rabine, L. W. (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 15-37.

_____ *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1988).

Lane, H., *The Wild Boy of Aveyron* (1977).

Lebrun, F., *La Vie Conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1975).

Lenardon, J., "The paradox of revolution within an étatiste mentality", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): Chisick, H. (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 99-117.

Levy, D. G. and Applewhite, H. B., "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris", in Melzer, S. E. and Rabine, L. W. (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 79-101.

_____ and Johnson, M. D. (eds.), *Women in Revolutionary Paris 1789-1795* (Urbana, 1979).

Lonsdale, R., *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets* (Oxford, 1989).

Lovell, T., "Jane Austen and the Gentry: A study in Literature and Ideology", *Sociological Review Monograph*, 26 (1978): Laurenson, D. (ed.), *The Sociology of Literature: Applied Studies*, pp. 15-37.

- Martin, A. and Walter, G., *Catalogue de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française* (5 vols., Paris, 1936-1955).
- Martin, H.-J., "La prééminence de la librairie parisienne" in idem., Chartier, R. and Vivet, J.-P. (eds.), *Histoire de l'Édition Française* (4 tomes, Paris, 1982-1986): tome II. *Le livre triomphant 1660-1830* (1984), pp. 262-81.
- Maza, S., *Private Lives and Public Affairs. The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1993).
- _____ *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France. The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, 1983).
- _____ "Women, the Bourgeoisie and the Public Sphere: Response to Daniel Gordon and David Bell", *French Historical Studies*, 17, no. 4 (1992), pp. 935-50.
- Mills, H., " 'Recasting the Pantheon ?' Women and the French Revolution", *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 33 (1989), pp. 89-105.
- Mothe-Fénelon, F. de S. de la, "Advice to a Lady of Quality, Concerning the Education of her Daughter" in Barnard, H. C., *Fénelon on Education* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 97-107.
- _____ "The Education of Girls" in Barnard, H. C., *Fénelon on Education* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 1-96.
- Murray, W. J., *The Right-Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789-1792* (Woodbridge, 1986).
- Musgrave, E. C., "Women in the Male World of Work: The Building Industries of Eighteenth-Century Brittany", *French History*, 7, no. 1 (1993), pp. 30-52.
- Nathans, B., " Habermas's "Public Sphere" in the Era of the French Revolution ", *French Historical Studies*, 16, no. 3 (1990), pp. 620-44.
- Norberg, K., " 'Love and Patriotism': Gender and Politics in the Life and Work of Louvet de Couvrai", in Melzer, S. E. and Rabine L. W. (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women*

- and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 38-53.
- Nye, A., *Feminist Theory and the Philosophies of Man* (New York, 1988).
- Offen, K., “ The New Sexual Politics of French Revolutionary Historiography ”, *French Historical Studies*, 16, no. 4 (1990), pp. 909-22.
- Outram, D., *The Body and the French Revolution* (New Haven, 1989).
- _____ *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Ozouf, M., *Festivals and the French Revolution* (trans. A. Sheridan), (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988).
- Parker, H. T., *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: a Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (New York, 1965).
- Pateman, C., *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Phillips, R., *Family Breakdown in Late Eighteenth-Century France. Divorces in Rouen 1792-1803* (Oxford, 1980).
- _____ *Putting Asunder: A History of divorce in Western society* (Cambridge, 1988).
- _____ *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Pilkington, A. E., “ ‘Nature’ as Ethical Norm in the Enlightenment ” in Jordanova, L. J. (ed.), *Languages of Nature. Critical Essays on Science and Literature* (1986), pp. 51-85.
- Plutarch, *Plutarch on Sparta* (trans. with intro. and notes by R. J. A. Talbert), (1988).
- Popkin, J. D., “ The business of political enlightenment in France, 1770-1800 ” in Brewer, J. and Porter, R. (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), pp. 412-36.
- _____ “The élite press in the French Revolution: the *Gazette de Leyde* and the *Gazette universelle* ”, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 287 (1991): Chisick, H. (ed.), *The Press in the French Revolution*, pp. 85-98.
- _____ “The *Gazette de Leyde* and French Politics Under Louis XVI ”, in idem. and Censer, J. R. (eds.), *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 75-132.

- _____ “Journals: The New Face of News” in Darnton, R. and Roche, D., *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 141-64.
- _____ “The Provincial Newspaper Press and Revolutionary Politics”, *French Historical Studies*, 18, no. 2 (1993), pp. 434-56.
- _____ *Revolutionary News. The Press in France, 1789-1799* (Durham, North Carolina, 1990).
- _____ *The Right-Wing Press in France 1792-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1980).
- Proctor, C. E., *Women, Equality and the French Revolution* (New York, 1990).
- Quénart, J., “L’anémie provinciale”, in Martin, H.-J., Chartier, R. and Vivet, J.-P.(eds.), *Histoire de l’Édition Française* (4 tomes, Paris, 1982-1986): tome II, *Le livre triomphant 1660-1830* (1984), pp. 282-93.
- Renwick, J., “Introduction” in idem. (ed.), *Language and Rhetoric of the Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 1-3.
- Rétat, P., *Les Journaux de 1789. Bibliographie critique* (Paris, 1988).
- _____ and Sgard, J. (eds.), *Presse et Histoire au XVIII^e Siècle L’Année 1734* (Paris, 1978).
- Ribeiro, A., “Fashion in the Eighteenth Century: Some Anglo-French Comparisons”, *Textile History*, 22, no. 2 (1991), pp. 329-45.
- Riegelhaupt, J. F., “Women, Work, War, and Family: Some Recent Works in Women’s History”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 24 (1982), pp. 660-72.
- Roche, D., “Censorship and the Publishing Industry” in Darnton, R. and Roche, D. (eds.), *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 3-26.
- _____ *La Culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement (XVII^e - XVIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1989).
- _____ *Le Siècle des Lumières en Province. Académies et académiciens provinciaux.*

1680-1789 (2 tomes, Paris, 1978).

Roger, P., "The French Revolution as 'logomachy' " in Renwick, J. (ed.), *Language and Rhetoric of the Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 4-17.

Rose, R. B., "Feminism, Women and the French Revolution", *Historical Reflections*, 21, no. 1 (1995), pp. 187-205.

Rousseau, J.-J., *The Social Contract* (trans. M. Cranston), (1968).

Scott, J. W., "French Feminists and the Rights of 'Man': Olympe de Gouges's Declarations", *History Workshop*, Issue 28 (1989), pp. 1-21.

_____ " 'A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer': Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women", in Melzer, S. E. and Rabine, L. W. (eds.), *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), pp. 102-20.

Sewell, W. H., Jr., "Le citoyen / la citoyenne: Activity, Passivity and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship" in Lucas, C. (ed.), *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 2: *The Political Culture of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 105-23.

Sgard, J. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la presse 1600-1789*, Tome 1: *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600-1789* (2 vols., Paris, 1991).

Shevelov, K., *Women and Print Culture. The construction of femininity in the early periodical* (1989).

Soboul, A., *Understanding the French Revolution* (1988).

Spencer, S. I., "Women and Education" in idem. (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 83-96.

Staum, M. S., "Human, Not Secular Sciences: Ideology in the Central Schools", *Historical Reflections*, 12, no. 1 (1985), pp. 49-76.

Stone, L., *Broken Lives. Separation and Divorce in England 1660-1857* (Oxford, 1993).

_____ *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1977).

Sullerot, E., *Histoire de la presse féminine en France, des origines à 1848* (Paris, 1966).

Tackett, T., *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, 1986).

_____ “ Women and Men in Counterrevolution: The Sommières Riot of 1791 ”,
Journal of Modern History, 59 (1987), pp. 680-704.

Taithe, B., *The Essential Mayhew. Representing and Communicating the Poor* (1996).

Thomas, C., “ Heroism in the Feminine: the Examples of Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland ” in Petrey, S. (ed.), *The French Revolution 1789-1989. Two Hundred Years of Rethinking* (Lubbock, 1989), pp. 67-82.

Tilly, C., *The Vendée* (1964).

Todd, J., *Sensibility. An Introduction* (1986).

Tomalin, C., *The Life And Death Of Mary Wollstonecraft* (1992).

Troyansky, D. G., *Old Age in the Old Regime. Image and Experience in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 1989).

Vickery, A., “ Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions, 1751-81 ” in Brewer, J. and Porter, R. (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), pp. 274 -301.

Waquet, S., “ Jacobins et Presse Provinciale sous le Directoire. Bias Parent et le Questionneur ”, *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 57, no. 259 (1985), pp. 60-75.

Warner, M., *Monuments and Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form* (1987).

Wilson, L. B., *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment. The Debate over *Maladies des Femmes** (Baltimore, 1993).

Unpublished Theses.

Cameron, V. P., “ Woman as Image and Image-maker in Paris During the French Revolution ” (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1983).

Chisick, H., “ Attitudes Toward the Education of the *Peuple* in the French Enlightenment:

1762-1789 ” (PhD thesis, The John Hopkins University, 1974).

Colwill, E. A., “ Transforming Women’s Empire: Representations of Women in French

Political Culture, 1770-1807 ” (PhD thesis, State University of New York

at Binghamton, 1990).

John, E., “ ‘ *The China here is Lovely* ’: The Acquisition of French Luxury Goods by the

British in the Eighteenth Century ” (MA dissertation, Royal College of Art, 1995).